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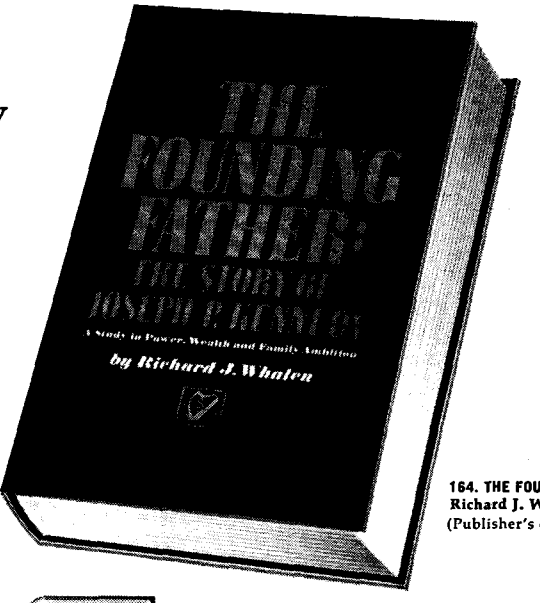

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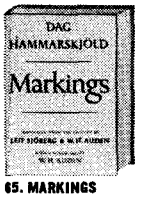

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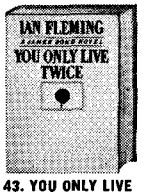

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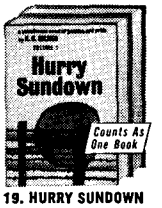

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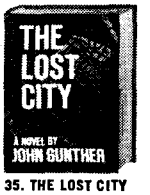

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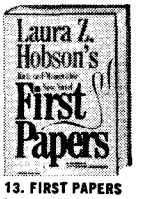

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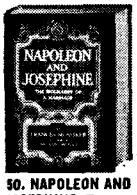

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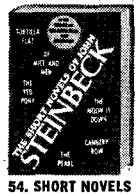

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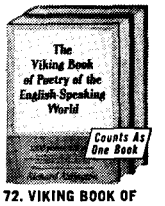

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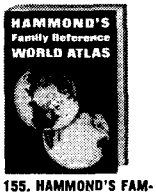

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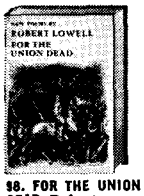

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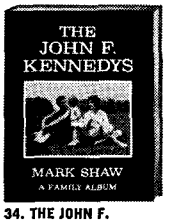

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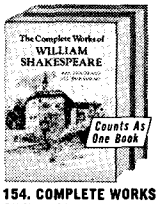

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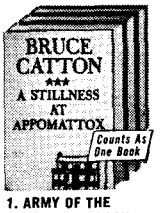

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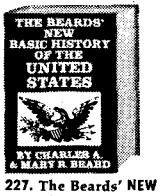

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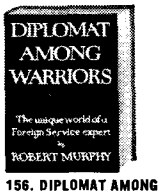

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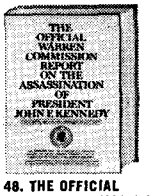

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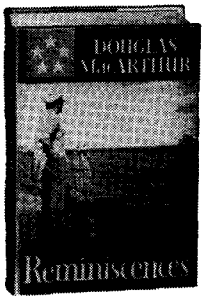

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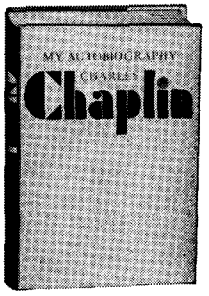

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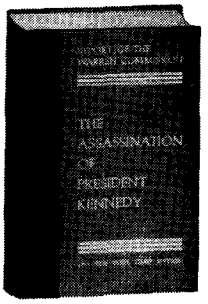

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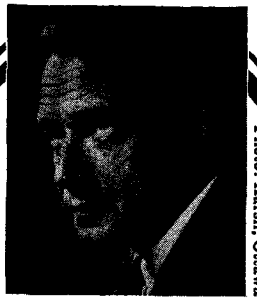
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Acrostician—

HUBERT HUMPHREY

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

HAS Mao's China assumed the role of Leon Trotsky while pretending to follow the path of Trotsky's murderer, Stalin? Is its policy of permanent global revolution directed against the Soviet Union, or is it counting on a competition with the Soviet Union—perhaps the only form of competitive coexistence that is compatible with the Marxist philosophy? These and many more questions related to China and its overt expansionist drive are certain to beset the Johnson administration. It has been suggested that our country should abandon "globalism." We do not know of any similar intention in Communist China.

China's course has been to foment rebellion and racism, most threateningly in Vietnam but also wherever there is a Communist Party or a messy situation to be exploited—which means all over the world. **Denis Warner,** whose assignments for this magazine take him around China's Southeast Asian periphery, has drawn on Chinese, African, and Asian sources for his account of the force of Peking's outward thrust. . . . One new African nation that has resisted Mao's subversion is Malawi, formerly Nyasaland, where an unusual leader has broken a Chinese-backed opposition and imposed a strong independent rule. **Peter Schmid,** a Swiss reporter, visited Malawi's principal city, Blantyre, on a recent swing through Africa.

AS CONGRESS reconvenes, management and organized labor are expected to square off over the Taft-Hartley Act's controversial Section 14B, which allows individual states to enact "right-to-work" laws. As **Leonard Baker,** a Washington correspondent of the Long Island daily *Newsday* sees it, the man caught squarely in the middle is President Lyndon B. Johnson, but there is the danger that, on one side or the other, the consensus he loves so dearly might be eroded. . . . From seeming on the verge of becoming a mere customs union, the Common Market nations have now committed themselves, whether they like it or not, to progress through a series of steps toward some kind of inevitable economic and political unity. Our correspondent **Claire Sterling** reports from Brussels that the outlook for a realization of President Kennedy's vision of a working partnership with Europe based on equality is brighter than it has been in years. . . . The inequities of our immigration policy—a national-origins quota system based on the immigration figures of forty-five years ago—have long been evident. According to **Paul Duke** of NBC News and **Stanley Meisler,** who has covered Washington for the Associated Press, prospects for reform of existing laws by the new Congress are relatively good. Nevertheless, the administration faces determined opposition from entrenched xenophobes in its forthcoming attempts to get more liberal legislation. . . . **Marcus Cohn,** a Washington attorney who specializes in matters before the Federal Communications Commission, suggests that the FCC is out of step with both the Constitution and recent Supreme Court decisions in its handling of religious broadcasting.

WHERE the seasons are reversed anything can happen. Our regular pictorial commentator **Fernando Krahn** shows what ensues when a hole is dug from rather than to China. . . . **Albert C. Schmidt,** who lives in Paris, is currently at work on a study of Romanesque ruins. . . . **Jay Jacobs,** a frequent contributor both as an artist and critic, is a Simenon addict who has read upwards of a hundred of the author's books. . . . **Hans Koningsberger's** *An American Romance, I Know What I'm Doing,* and *A Walk with Love and Death* were all published by Simon and Schuster. . . . **Alfred Werner** has written and lectured widely on the art of the twentieth century. His publications include *Paintings of the Post Impressionists* (McGraw-Hill), *Modigliani the Sculptor* (Arts), *Jules Pascin* (Abrams), and a forthcoming study of the sculptor Ernst Barlach. . . . **Nat Hentoff** is the author of *The Jazz Life* (Dial and Apollo paperback), *The New Equality* (Viking), and *The Peace Agitator* (Macmillan).

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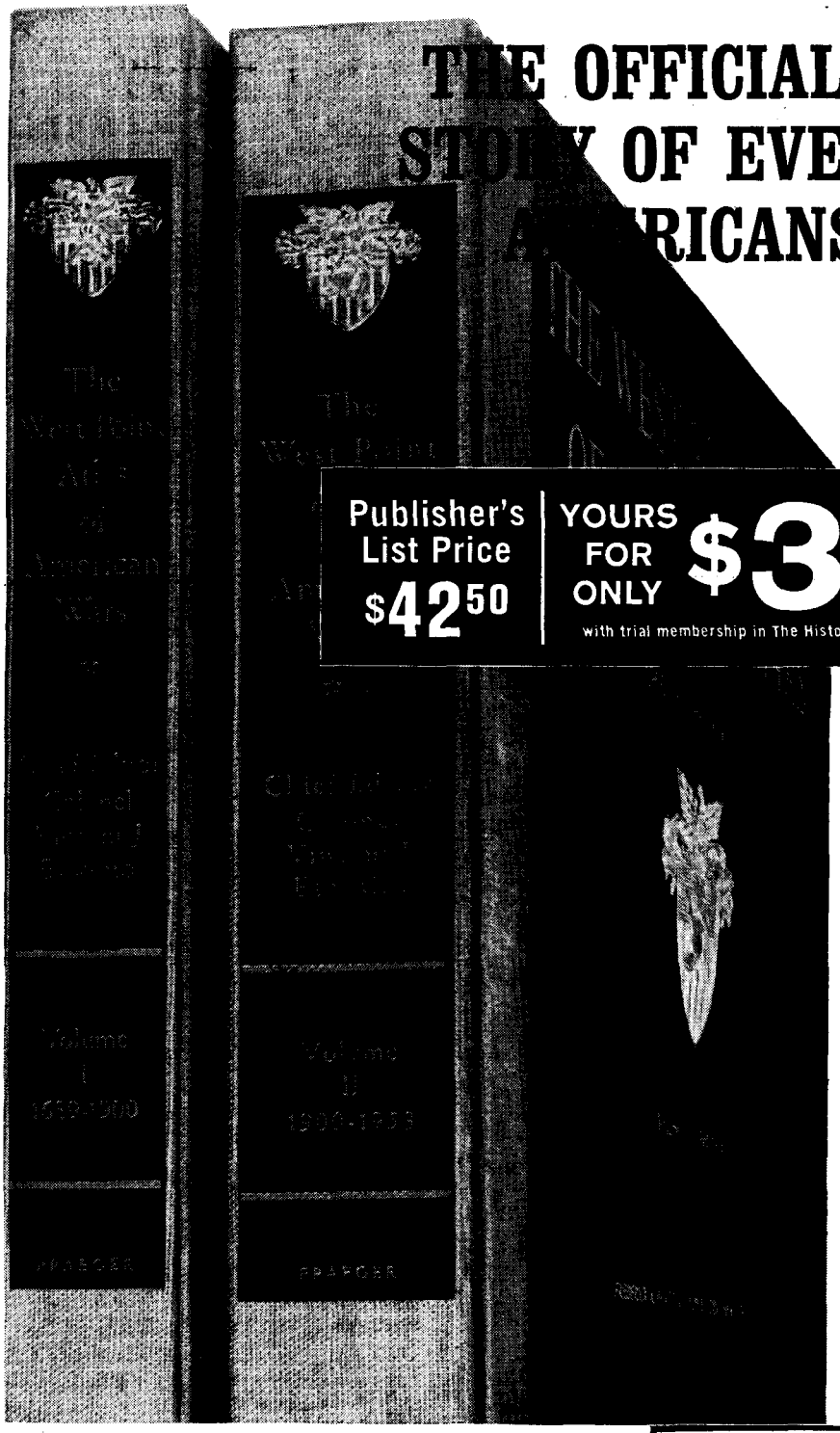

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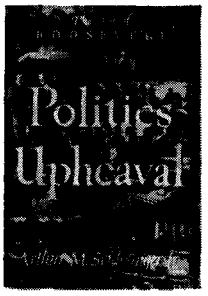

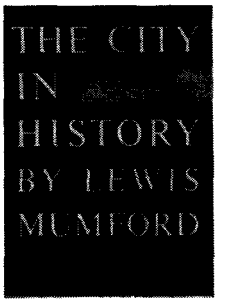

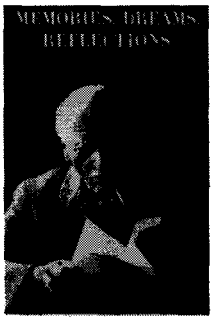

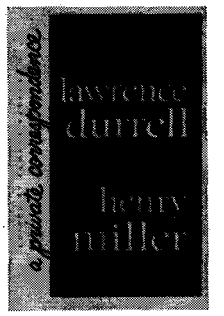

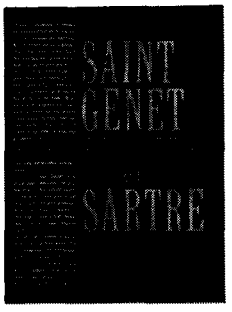

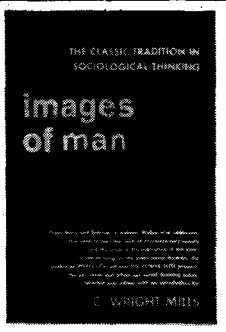

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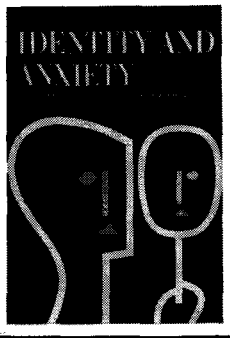

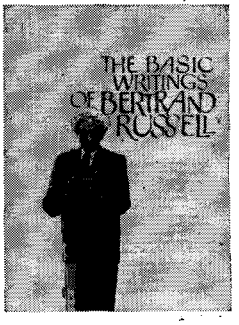

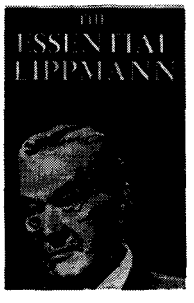

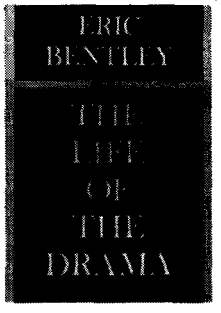

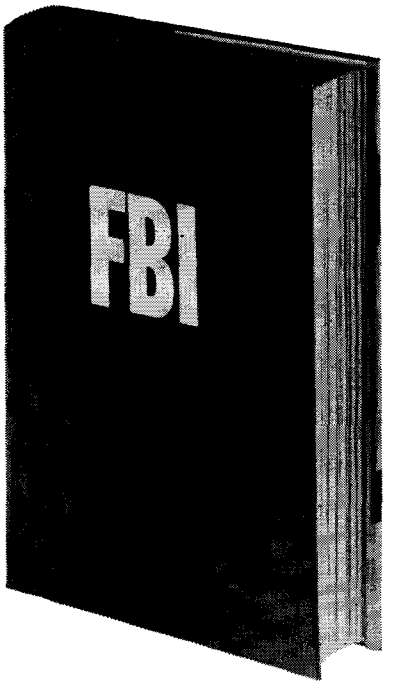

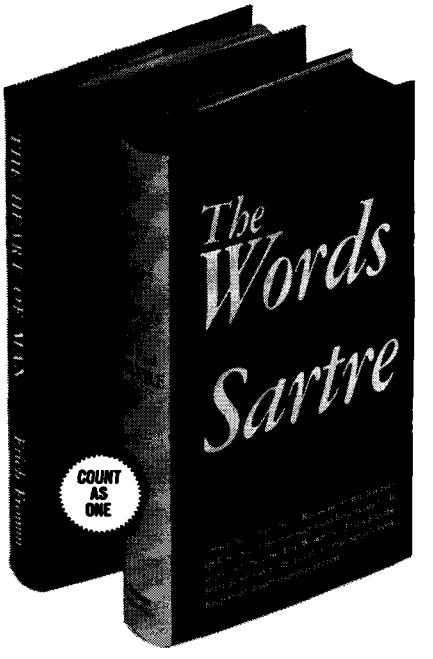

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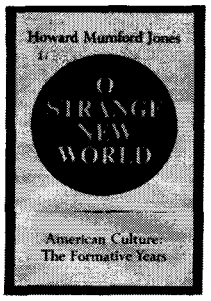

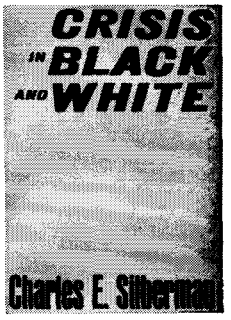

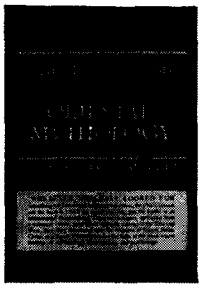

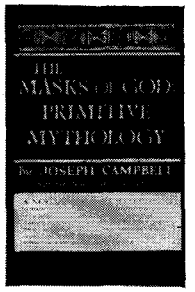

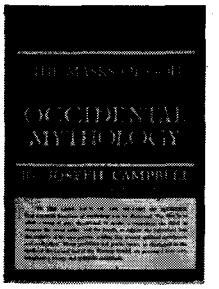

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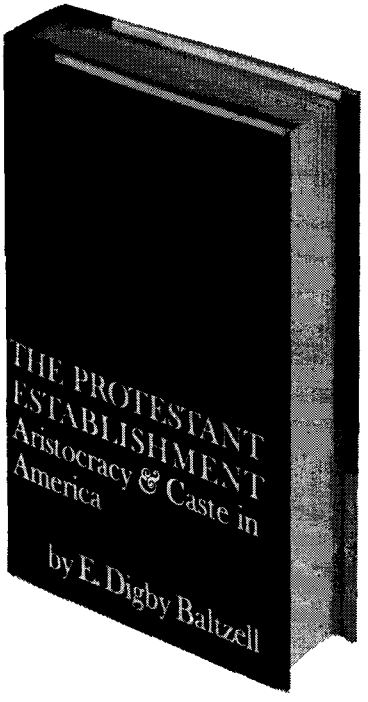

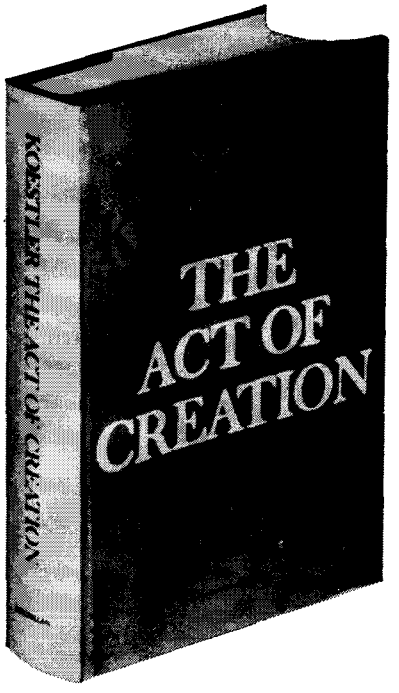

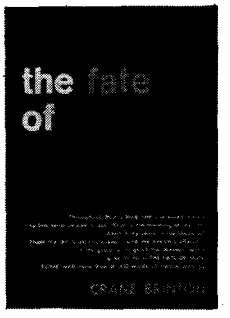

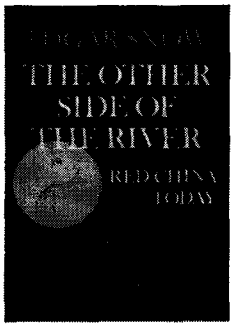

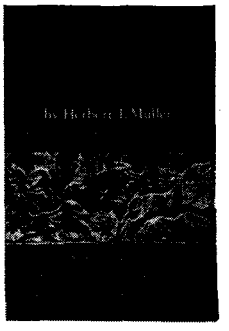

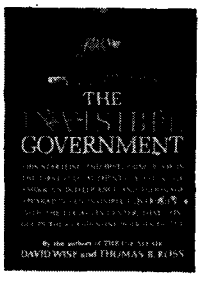

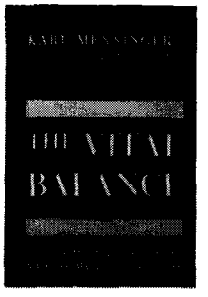

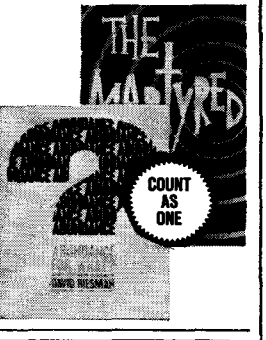

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CLAUDE PEPPER'S VICTORY

To the Editor: In Paul Duke's survey of the political revolution in the South ("Southern Politics and the Negroes," *The Reporter*, December 17, 1964), the author neglected what was probably the outstanding victory of an incumbent congressman who voted for the Civil Rights Act—that of Claude Pepper of Dade County, Florida, over Paul O'Neill.

Because of Pepper's long history of sponsorship and support for a Federal medicare program, the House Republican Policy Committee decided that his defeat was its prime objective for 1964. The committee felt that Pepper's vote for the Civil Rights Act made him ripe for defeat in a district noted for its active support of ultra right-wing causes.

The committee director, Don Ackerman, appeared on radio about ten days prior to election and was quite frank about the background of the Pepper-O'Neill race. Although he is an appointee of Gerald Ford of Michigan and lives in Ford's district, Ackerman was sent by the committee to Florida to direct O'Neill's campaign, and he was in Miami for two months. This is certainly an indication of the importance given Pepper's defeat by the G.O.P. Ackerman claimed that the O'Neill campaign was adequately financed and was very confident of victory.

But Pepper received about sixty-six per cent of the vote, winning by some forty-eight thousand votes. Congressman Dante Fascell in the south end of Dade County, who voted against the Civil Rights Act and indicated opposition to medicare as now presented, received about sixty-three per cent of the vote in his district, although his is a more violently ultra right-wing area. President Johnson received only about sixty-two per cent of Dade County, winning the county by ninety-one thousand votes.

The Negro vote, while decisive statewide for Johnson, was not decisive in the two Congressional races in Dade County. While Dade's Negroes were voting Democratic by some twenty or thirty to one, eighteen Negro precincts in Duval County voted for Johnson by thousand-to-one margins.

However, the impact of the Negro vote in Florida is no different than you found it in Virginia and other parts of the South.

ARTHUR ROTH
Miami

WHAT ROMNEY WROUGHT

To the Editor: Those of us who watched closely the new constitution being written here in Michigan are tired of hearing Governor George Romney take credit (as cited in "The Reporter's Notes" for December 17) for helping bring modern government to the state, considering the restrictive, regressive instrument that he helped fashion.

If it had not been for the Supreme Court decisions resulting in equitable reapportionment (not the new constitution), Michigan would still be in the hands of the very same rural groups who throughout the country have made it impossible for state government to be effective and responsive.

The unconstitutional makeup of the state legislature is just one example of the failings of this document about which Romney boasts. There is still a long way to go to correct all the inadequacies and errors in a constitution which although new is not necessarily good.

The Democratic answer in Michigan was not, as you so generally implied, "Washington always knows best." We only asked for a state government which would do the job that had to be done. The courts have helped give us that—not Romney.

FAE WEISS
Oak Park, Michigan

UNDERSTANDING PHILADELPHIA (PA.)

To the Editor: There have been many fine articles written about our program here in Philadelphia, but we feel that Hannah Lees' "Self-Help in Philadelphia" (*The Reporter*, December 17), with its profound insight and understanding of our problems, will convey to those reading it a clear understanding of our program—its purpose, direction, and goals.

REV. THOMAS J. RITTER
Administrator
Opportunities Industrialization Center
Philadelphia

PRAISE FOR OUR COVERAGE

To the Editor: I would like to compliment you on the cover by Gregorio Prestopino for *The Reporter* of December 17. It is gratifying to see that someone in the commercial field of editorial, literary, and artistic endeavors is able to interpret the concept of Madonna and Child in relevant terms as well as beauteous ones.

Thank you for signifying something of the meaning of Christmas.

SHARON FLYNN
New York

To the Editor: As a long-time reader and admirer of your magazine, I have come to appreciate both its covers and interior illustrations. My wife and I delight in recognizing the styles of the different artists such as [Gregorio] Prestopino and [Bill] Berry, and we are much moved by the sensitivity of Tom Feelings' drawings of Negro children. We also hope to see more of Lajos Szalay's work.

Your December 17 cover by Mr. Prestopino combined all the qualities we have for so long enjoyed in your artwork with a very contemporary insight into the eternal Christian lesson.

ERNEST FULLMER
Vancouver, British Columbia

To the Editor: I have read with interest Elizabeth Brenner Drew's perceptive and accurate piece ("The Civil-Rights Maze," *The Reporter*, December 17) on some of the administrative problems that we face for the future in the implementation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. She did her usual first-class job.

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant U.S. Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

LANSING BUT NOT LANSING

To the Editor: I read with a great deal of interest "The Multiplex Muse," by John M. Conly (*The Reporter*, December 17). Mr. Conly's statement about the dedication of the component high-fidelity industry is a fact. As a consequence, those of us in this field welcome articles such as this which present high-fidelity components in proper perspective. Too many times, audio enthusiasts are described in national publications as semiliterate nuts. We therefore appreciate your attempt to publish valid, helpful information about audio components.

However, his otherwise excellent article contains one glaring mistake which should be corrected. Mr. Conly repeatedly refers to JBL products as "Lansing" loudspeakers, when, in reality, there is no such thing. As a matter of fact, this designation might apply equally well to any of three different loudspeaker manufacturers in the world.

Those readers who are familiar with the "fabulous" Paragon and other JBL loudspeaker systems know that JBL components are manufactured by James B. Lansing Sound, Inc. Our products are identified by the emblem of the triangle and circle and the initials JBL. We at JBL are extremely proud of the international reputation of our products, and we are understandably disturbed by any reference which tends to confuse them with products of another manufacturer. JBL means James B. Lansing Sound, Inc. Any other abbreviation is bound to create confusion.

WILLIAM H. THOMAS, President
James B. Lansing Sound, Inc.
Los Angeles

Mr. Conly replies:
In the informal and imprecise argot of hi-fidelitarians, it has long been customary (however sinful) to use, as convenient short forms, the word "Altec" for Altec Lansing Corporation and "Lansing" for James B. Lansing Sound, Inc. It is also worth mentioning that in the *Ziff-Davis Stereo-Hi Fi 1965 Directory*, Mr. Thomas's organization is indexed as "Lansing, James B., Sound, Inc." Still, though no aficionado would be confused by the duality of "Lansing," a novice might be. So the point raised by Mr. Thomas is, like his company's equipment, sound.

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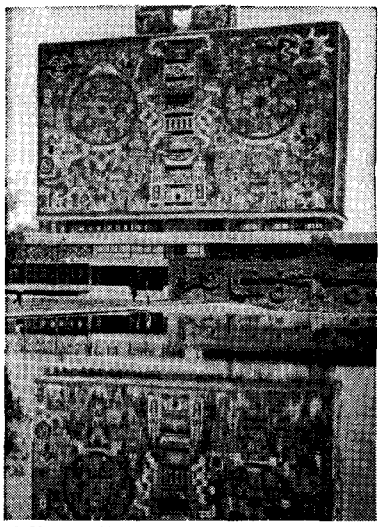
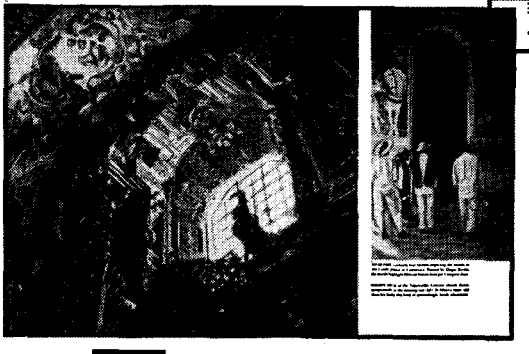


MONUMENTAL MOSAIC symbolically depicting Mexican cultural history covers entire wall of the library of the University of Mexico, noted for its startling architecture.

IN CAFETERIA of state-owned factory in Hidalgo, workers lunch beneath mural depicting rights guaranteed by the constitution.



TOURISTS DINE aboard flower-decked canopied gondola in Xochimilco canal. In background is restaurant of swoopingly modern design.

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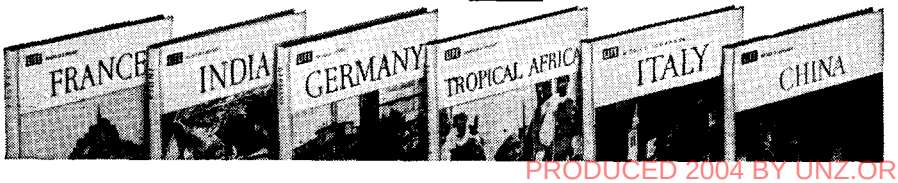

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And a Time for Ecclesiastes

It is winter again and so we find ourselves obsessed once more with the President and the press. The tradition is a well-established one. It was in February, 1949, that Arthur Krock's exclusive interview with President Truman prompted one of the best-known and most memorable explosions of interest in the nature, ethics, and utility of Presidential modes of dealing with the press. That is to say, reporters who were not Arthur Krock were furious.

Down the years since that time, through the tortured musings on poolside news management in Palm Beach and the outcry over the undemocratic nature of impromptu kaffeeklatsches, the issue of privileged access to Presidential confidence has always maintained its seasonal quality. Why?

The answer is fairly simple: nothing else is going on, a situation which produces what is known among press secretaries as a "news void," which in turn has its own predictable dangers. One is that reporters begin to complain about the lull. Another is that they occasionally use the time to dig out stories that wiser heads would just as soon leave buried. Finally, there is the danger that some highly placed source from a cabinet member to the President himself will seek to fill the void by offering insights into his plans on an unattributable basis. What is particularly dangerous about this last move is that, having made ample use of all the proffered insights, the reporters will then turn their attention to the questionable role of the background session in a free society, and we'll be in for another bout of news management and news managers.

We could see it coming not long ago when we opened the papers and read "Johnson Policy Seen Prudent and Elastic" (the Baltimore *Sun*); "LBJ Seeks to Avoid Overuse of Mandate" (the Washington *Post*); "President Charts a Soft Approach in Basic Policies" (the New York *Times*). It was obvious that the President had been chatting for background again and that within a fortnight the critical regeneration would begin. Thus the Washington *Post* by December 28: "LBJ's Strained Press Relations."

True to form, the strain in the relations has proceeded from a host of minor irritants and misunderstandings that always attend these events. For instance, the administration is said to have been displeased by the manner in which the *Times* emphasized the President's changed attitude toward the MLF and de Gaulle. One story going the rounds is that Secretaries Rusk and McNamara called in from Paris when they read the *Times's* version to see if there had been some fundamental policy change. There are some who say that even Drew Middleton called New York. Then there was poor *Time* magazine, which, having gained exclusive quotations for a yet-to-be-printed story on the President, saw most of the same quotes appear in the daily press. The AP, meanwhile, whose representative had missed a backgrounding chat, announced in violation of all that is holy in press relations that the background session had been held by the President himself and even named the reporters who had been there.

Washington takes very seriously the distinctions set forth between on the record, off the record, background ("highly placed officials believe . . ."), and what is known as "deep background." The last has certain similarities with hypnosis—you are going into a deep, deep background—since the reporters become outright expositors of the word as given out by the briefers. There are no sources or high officials to be found in the text at all.

Apparently all these intricacies have escaped the attention of the public at large and a good part of the non-Washington press. (The President, the Austin *American* cheerfully and openly stated a while back, "held a combination press conference and 'backgrounding' session . . ."). While we see nothing whatever that can be done to call a halt to Washington's annual preoccupation with all this, we have after a good deal of thought decided that it serves at least one useful purpose: the debate on differential privileges is the only thing we can imagine that makes us look forward each year to what comes next, namely, the opening of Congress.

They Also Serve

If nobody else has given much thought to the problem of keeping journalists out of trouble during "news voids," the ladies of the USO apparently have. While cleaning out a stack of official papers, George Reedy, the President's press secretary, came across a letter from the USO addressed to what it took to be a lonesome military unit: the "White House Press Corps." "We have a reading lounge and a game table for cards or any other games that the servicemen might desire to play," the letter said.

Just then, the Washington recruits were setting up a bivouac in Austin's Hotel Driskill, sixty-five miles from the LBJ Ranch, in the event that a publishable item or two might be forthcoming from headquarters. A series of skirmishes over the next few days produced a briefing on the state of the weather at the ranch, an opinion by Dr. Donald F. Hornig, the President's science adviser, that "the moon is actually a very interesting place," some byplay between Secretary McNamara and Najeeb E. Halaby, head of the Federal Aviation Agency, about whether the President's proposed $750-million giant

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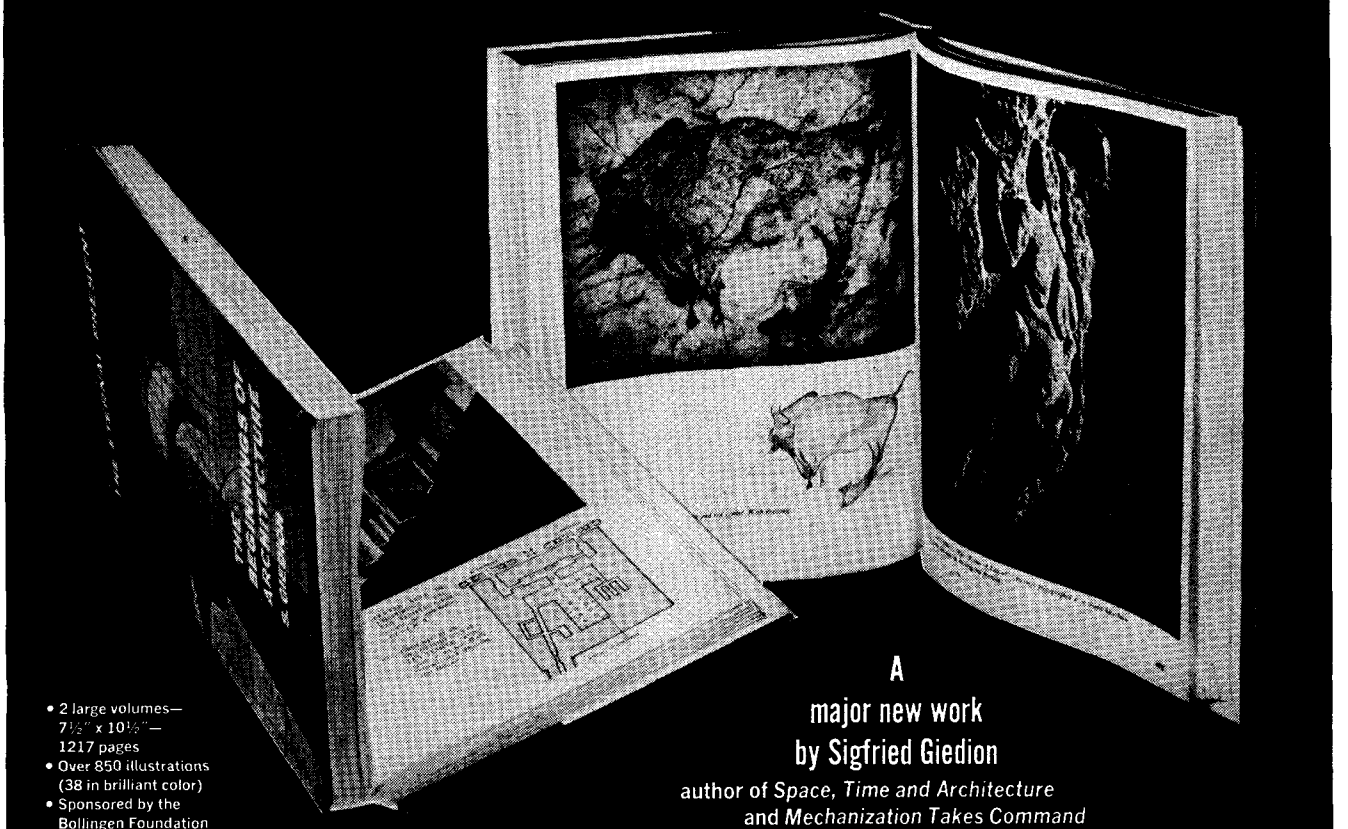

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military transport plane should be called the CX, CX-5, or HLS —and not much else. The press corpsmen might just as well have availed themselves of the USO's offer.

Science Giveth and Taketh

Those old job thieves the computers are not only stealing bread from workers these days, they are humiliating their masters as well. "I have been repeatedly shocked," Dr. Richard W. Hamming of the Bell Telephone Laboratories told the American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in Montreal, "to find out how often I thought I knew what I was talking about, but in the acid test of describing explicitly to a machine what was going on I was revealed to have been ignorant and extremely superficial." Mathematicians, it turns out, act pretty much like other people when they are embarrassed.

"When one attempts to put any of the well-known processes of mathematics on a computing machine," Dr. Hamming went on, "one finds that there is great vagueness, and waving of hands, and shouting 'Any fool knows!' and that in the long run a much more careful examination of the basic ideas and processes must be made before one can make much progress."

If math has become an art form remote from the real world, biology has become too mechanical, according to Professor René J. Dubos of the Rockefeller Institute, who spoke at the same meeting. Where the mathematician would downgrade such concepts as continuity and infinity because they cannot be explained to a machine, the biologist would downgrade the machine because it cannot explain human nature. Biologists, Dr. Dubos complained, have come to treat the human body as only a "complex but otherwise ordinary machine," and ignore man's "humanness," his uniqueness as an individual, his relation to the moon and stars.

Unlike the speech by Dr. Hamming, Dr. Dubos's was sprinkled with concepts such as "divine madness," the "voice of the deep," and even the "paleolithic bull" which survives in the inner self of the urbane city dweller and "still paws the earth whenever a threatening gesture is made on the social scene." Imagine trying to explain *that* to a computer. Or to a computer man, who from all the available evidence never paws and snorts but merely waves his hand in the air and then shouts "You fool!" when things go wrong.

The Disadvantage of Being Earnest

Because he filed an honest report on his $200,000 in campaign expenditures, the newly elected congressman from New York's 25th District is now being criticized by those persons who refuse to face the realities of financing a campaign for Congress.

Richard L. Ottinger, son of the founder of the U.S. Plywood Corporation, is a wealthy young man who worked for three years as a regional director in the Peace Corps and last March returned to his home town of Pleasantville in Westchester County to run for the House of Representatives. He was an unknown Democrat in an overwhelmingly Republican district, and his opponent was a three-term incumbent congressman. Most people in his area read the New York City newspapers, which had little free time or space to devote to one of the more than seventy Congressional candidates within the New York metropolitan area. To get his name and views known, he had to spend lots of money.

Luckily for him, Ottinger had family money he could use. He did not have to depend for financial support on special-interest groups who might compromise his stand on future issues. He even turned down one large contribution of this kind. He did try to raise funds from small contributors—with some success. But the American public, dominated by the unsavory image of politicians in general, isn't willing to contribute in the amounts needed today.

Ottinger's prime mistake, apparently, was to comply with antique Federal and state campaign-fund reporting and tax laws that in effect limit individual contributions to $3,000 if the recipient is to avoid paying a gift tax—a totally unreasonable figure. To circumscribe this limitation, Ottinger employed a well-established technique of setting up as many different committees as he needed $3,000 contributions. In the recent Presidential campaign, dozens of wealthy men contributed $3,000 for themselves and individual members of their families to similarly constructed "paper" committees. Henry Ford II's $3,000 checks to the Johnson campaign turned up in more that a half-dozen Democratic committees. Five members of the conservative Pew family of Pennsylvania contributed more than $60,000 in tandem to the 1964 Republican Presidential campaign, a contributing habit of the Rockefellers before the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater. In Robert F. Kennedy's recent Senate campaign, Kennedy brother-in-law Stephen Smith, family friend K. Lemoyne Billings, and others also exceeded the legal limit of $5,000 by giving to more than one such committee. Most of the time in the House and Senate races, the embarrassment that has befallen Ottinger is avoided by the simple technique of failing to file accurate and complete campaign fund reports. One of Ottinger's New York colleagues in his 1962 race avoided the individual contribution limitation for a candidate—$8,000—by reporting after the 1962 campaign that he had "loaned" his own campaign committee $80,000. The law put him under no obligation to report when or even if his "loan" was repaid.

The New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*, who "exposed" Ottinger's campaign funds after reading the public records, have since dropped the issue of political financing as quickly as they picked it up—but not before writing pious editorials about the need for reform. If the papers had directed a portion of their reforming zeal at getting Ottinger's delinquent political contemporaries to own up to what they had actually spent, the young Westchesterite's $200,000 might not stand out as much as it does—and some real progress at reform might be achieved. Without facing the real facts of ballooning campaign costs, reforms will not reach the basic problem—the need for new sources of funds—and therefore will be bypassed by Congress. The legislators are not about to make things actually worse, through legislation that cuts down on existing fund sources, just to satisfy reformers who want things to look better.

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China Fans the Fires

DENIS WARNER

ACROSS PEOPLE'S SQUARE in Peking on October 1, 1960, students carried a model of the world ignited by a flaming torch. Following them with an immense replica of a volume by Mao Tse-tung enthroned on a bank of roses came the staff of the New China Printing Press. It was the eleventh anniversary of Communist rule, and two thousand foreign guests from seventy countries stood up in the reviewing stands to cheer.

Though they came from different corners of the earth, this was something that all could understand. The flames were Mao's, and the Communist leader's book told how they should be ignited.

In the four years since this vivid declaration of international revolution, the Chinese have seen many of their fondest domestic hopes dashed, but the outward thrust of China's revolutionary policies has never diminished. In April, 1961, when the economic outlook could scarcely have been bleaker, the People's Liberation Army circulated a classified document to higher officers that stated: "The center of anti-colonial struggle is Africa. The center of struggle between East and West is Africa. At present Africa is the central question of the world."

Five months later, when the Sino-Soviet rift had become public, *Pravda* accused Mao of attempting to "recarve the map of the world" and buttressed its charges that Peking had "imperialist ambitions" and was "inflaming nationalistic passions" in Central Asia. It then referred to a Chinese map, first published in a textbook in 1953, that showed Burma, Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Malaya, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, and part of the Soviet Maritime Far

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Eastern Provinces as once having been Chinese territory.

In the midst of this damaging quarrel with the Soviet Union, in October, 1962, China discarded the tattered remains of *Panchsheel*, the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence, subscribed to at the First Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. Chinese troops invaded the North-East Frontier Agency and sent India reeling. The attack widened the Sino-Soviet split, and left China more isolated than ever. But even more, it convinced China that the world is a great guerrilla battlefield where the principles Mao applied on the plains of China may be used equally well in the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

LAST NOVEMBER 29, following the U.S.-Belgian rescue mission at Stanleyville, Mao presided over a rally of 700,000 people at the Gate of Heavenly Peace. According to the Peking *Review*, it was one of the biggest of all time; it was also one of the most abusive. For three consecutive days the crowds listened to inflammatory speeches, shouted slogans, and applauded a chorus from the People's Liberation Army singing "Fight On, People of the Congo." The campaign was quickly spread throughout the country and abroad as Peking sought to make the greatest propaganda breakthrough yet in the area it calls the center of the struggle between East and West. As rioters ransacked USIS libraries in Cairo, Djakarta, and Surabaya, Mao Tse-tung exhorted the underdeveloped world via Radio Peking to send the United States to its doom.

According to a defector from the Chinese embassy in Burundi, Mao believes that the Congo is the key to Africa. And as Chou En-lai said after his African visit early last year, the "stormy armed struggle for national liberation against U.S. imperialism and its agents is well advanced" throughout the continent. The *People's Daily* underscored the point on June 24 when it stated that "the excellent revolutionary situation in the Congo" would bring the rebels "still greater victories, like those of the people's armed forces in South Vietnam."

Peking's hope for another South Vietnamese situation in the Congo rested largely in Pierre Mulele, a former junior minister in the Congolese government who trained at the Wuhan military academy and returned, by way of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), to organize the Kwilu revolt late in 1963. Documents seized from two Soviet diplomats who were trying to smuggle them into Léopoldville from Brazzaville described Mulele's operations as somewhat independent of the Committee for National Liberation and directly supported by the Chinese.

Assisted by the New China News Agency "correspondent" Kao Liang, who was expelled from India in

1960 and subsequently had a hand in the Communist coup d'état in Zanzibar in 1964, Mulele recruited tribal leaders and witch doctors for training at the Chinese-directed guerrilla camp at Gamboma in the Brazzaville Congo. His Jeunesse bands crossed the Congo River carving a path of bloodshed and destruction through Kwilu Province.

Guns and Cynicism

Ideological considerations do not enter into China's scheme of things. "What matters now in Africa is anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism," said a China News Service report on January 17, 1963. "Anti-feudalism is not yet important. It is not time for social revolutions but for national revolution, time for a broad united front."

Exploiting the exploitable, the Peking embassy in Burundi, besides helping the Congolese rebels, has made common cause with the Burundi government to assist the aristocratic rebels from neighboring Rwanda against their peasant government. Since the refugees from Rwanda number something like sixty thousand among Burundi's two million-plus inhabitants, the revolutionary potential is substantial and the Chinese are cynically making the most of it.

They are making even better use of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). A joint communiqué issued on October 3 in Peking at the time of the state visit of President Alphonse Massamba-Debat reported that both sides "were heartened by the great victories won by the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and held that the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were a mighty force defending world peace in our time." At a banquet in honor of President Debat, Communist Party Chairman Liu Shao-chi said that China regarded support for the African peoples' fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism "as our unshirkable, glorious international duty." Debat went home with a $20-million loan to remind him, as he put it, that he had been "treated like a king."

The Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) is important to Peking as a base for supporting the larger Congo's Committee for National Liberation. Colonel Kan Mai, counselor at the Chinese embassy in Brazzaville, is military adviser to the CNL, and an increasing number of Congolese recruits are being indoctrinated and trained at Gamboma. They are being used in the now familiar tactic of aggression by infiltration from a privileged sanctuary. Peking's intention quite clearly is to use the Brazzaville Congo for operations against the Congo across the river and eventually against the Portuguese in Angola, just as North Vietnam was used as a training center and main base

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for the "wars of national liberation" in Laos and South Vietnam.

On the east coast of Africa, Peking's man is Sheik Abdul Rahman Mohamed, better known as Babu, foreign minister of Zanzibar before the merger with Tanganyika and now Tanzania's minister of cooperatives and commerce, who visited China in June and Cuba in July. An implicit purpose of the merger was to prevent Zanzibar from becoming a Communist state; it does not appear to have succeeded. Peking celebrated the visit of Babu and Rashidi Kawawa, second vice-president of Tanzania, by granting an interest-free loan of $14.5 million to Zanzibar alone and followed this with $31 million for Tanzania. Chinese military equipment and advisers moved into Zanzibar. More recently, the Chinese made a bigger step forward when President Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's Christian president, accepted a military mission to train the Tanzanian Army. The mission numbers only eleven, but then, the Tanzanian Army is only one battalion strong with two more being activated. The mission may be expected to become more significant now that advance echelons of the Mozambique "freedom fighters" based in Tanzania have crossed the border to launch a war of national liberation against Portuguese rule there.

Zambia—formerly Northern Rhodesia—had been independent for only a day when a Chinese-backed plot to overthrow the government was discovered. In Malawi—the former Nyasaland—the Chinese operating through the embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, reportedly offered $50 million as a bribe for diplomatic recognition. The offer precipitated a political crisis that began with Prime Minister Banda's dismissal of three cabinet ministers and was followed by the resignation of three others.

Meanwhile, the diplomatic drift in Africa from Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China to Mao's People's Republic continues. At the beginning of 1964, Taipei held a 16-14 lead in Africa. By the end of November it was trailing 14-18, with prospects that Chad, Togo, Niger, and Gabon would soon follow Dahomey, Senegal, and the Central African Republic and switch to Peking.

The Payoff

With strong African sponsorship for the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, Peking's investment in Africa seems to be paying off politically. Yet only in backward Mali, and in Zanzibar, where it is meeting with heavy Russian competition, has China's $250-million aid program had an appreciable economic or ideological impact. Elsewhere, personal bribes to political and youth leaders and the instigation of armed trouble, almost any sort of trouble, have been its main instruments. "Independence is armed force, freedom is armed force, equality is armed force," said a *People's Daily* editorial distributed in Africa on June 23 by the New China News Agency.

This sort of appeal, spread by a hundred hours of weekly broadcasts from Peking in English, French, Portuguese, Arabic, and four African dialects and by twelve New China News Agency centers, has fanned the winds of change against the West and also against the Soviet Union.

At the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Cairo in 1962, the Chinese privately plugged a racist line, lumping the Russians together with the French, British, and Americans as white exploiters. It followed this approach at the preparatory meeting for the Second Afro-Asian Conference, to be held in Africa early this year. Peking succeeded in having the Soviet Union excluded, thus establishing for itself the right to take part in African affairs while denying the same right to Moscow. Colored Workers of the World, Unite! is the implied slogan.

Not all Africans, including members of the steady flow of African delegations into Peking, are taken in by the Chinese propaganda. Peking is well aware of this but nevertheless appears confident that the exploitation of Africa's old frustrations and bitterness against the West will repay its efforts, even if anarchy is the immediate result.

It is even more confident in Southeast Asia. No longer is there a call for a fourteen-power conference to discuss the situation in South Vietnam and consider its "neutralization." The struggle there is regarded as all but over. "The great significance of the victory won by the South Vietnamese people has reached far beyond the scope of a single country," said the *People's Daily* on November 25. "U.S. imperialism stands at the head of all aggressive forces. It is a colossus. Its steel output amounts to more than one hun-

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dred million tons a year. It brags that the number of nuclear bombs in its arsenal has reached five figures. Can an oppressed nation defeat such a vicious enemy? The living example of the South Vietnamese people tells us: U.S. imperialism, though powerful in appearance, is in essence a paper tiger and can certainly be defeated."

Since President Sukarno's last August 17 Independence Day speech, in which he finally cast aside the fiction of Indonesian nonalignment, relations between Djakarta and Peking have steadily grown closer. The bonfires in the USIS libraries that marked Djakarta's show of Congo solidarity coincided with an unheralded visit by China's foreign minister, Marshal Chen Yi. Among those who participated in the talks, which according to an Indonesian announcement covered the "current situation in Southeast Asia in general and imperialist activities in the Congo," were President Sukarno, Foreign Minister Subandrio, and Army Chief of Staff Achmad Jani. In a broadcast on December 7, following the return of Chen Yi to China, Radio Peking described the talks as of "major importance" in "strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries, notably in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism." Today, China has a second front in Southeast Asia's southern tier and Indonesia has opened it.

The Barometer Rises

Along the frontiers of the northern tier, the Chinese have continued their burrowing and bridging. Two Chinese defectors from a roadbuilding team in Laos said last June that 1,600 armed Chinese troops were at work on the roads there. An even more illuminating account of Chinese roadbuilding activities in Nepal was described by Huang Jung-sheng. A graduate of the Chungking Highway Academy and one of a team of Chinese experts in Nepal from April, 1962, until April, 1964, when he defected, Huang said the Chinese aid program was "designed to subvert the Nepalese government and to communize that country." He accused Peking of "using the roadbuilding and other aid projects as cover for the paying and placement of political agents, and also for the construction of a military highway." He said he knew, for example, that five hundred soldiers from an engineering unit of the People's Liberation Army under the command of a Major Wang were working on the road in the Kodari area on the Tibetan side of the border. Wang's supplies included small arms, which were delivered clandestinely to Nepalese cells. The bridges along the Kodari-Katmandu road, he said, were being built to accommodate vehicles as heavy as sixty tons, instead of the eight tons specified by the Nepalese government.

"What disillusioned me most, however," said Huang, "was what I heard at several meetings in the embassy in Katmandu which were chaired by Ambassador Chang Shih-chieh. Ambassador Chang said that Chinese Communist objectives in Nepal were identical to their objectives throughout the world, a Communist revolution by any means, including violence."

Huang's revelations led to the departure of the Chinese ambassador. The military attaché, Colonel Kan Mai, also disappeared, only to appear on the African scene as chargé d'affaires at Brazzaville.

By inviting delegates from South Vietnam's National Liberation Front to establish a permanent headquarters in Peking, the Chinese in September assured for themselves a more direct link with the Vietcong. They continued to woo Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, according him a place of honor at Mao's side during the fifteenth-anniversary celebrations in Peking on October 1. Any doubts about where North Vietnam and North Korea may have stood vis-à-vis the Sino-Soviet dispute were swept away in the blast of China's nuclear explosion. Ho Chi Minh called it a "major contribution to the cause of national liberation and in defense of world peace." To Marshal Kim Il Sung and President Choi Yong Kun it was "an inspiration to all the revolutionary people struggling against imperialism and also a great contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and the world." Surprisingly, or perhaps not so surprisingly, there were many among the

Chinese Nationalists on Formosa who also felt this was an occasion for national celebration.

Since 1949, the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia have given a faithful barometric reading of the political weather in China. There was a

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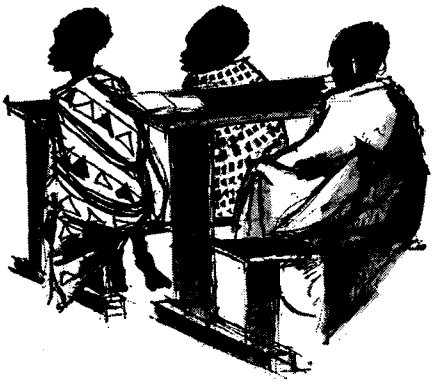
"high" with the 1949 victory and a deep "low" with the people's courts and the land-reform program of 1950. By 1958 the reading was up. With the Great Leap Backward it sank again. Today the reading in half a dozen capitals is very high indeed.

The British speculate gloomily that it is only a matter of time before Peking puts pressure on Nepal to cut off the flow of Gurkhas, on whom rests the defense of Malaysia. They credit Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore with remarkable political success but not enough to prevent the immobilization of the military bases there should Peking give the word. In terms of hard cash, they say that Hong Kong is extremely valuable to China in direct and indirect trade. On this basis it is a good calculated risk, indefensible in the event of war but a useful economic and political toehold on the coast of China in these curious times of "peace."

Despite its pledge to defend North Vietnam and the military capability of fourteen Chinese divisions in the Himalayas, a similar force beyond the frontiers of Laos and North Vietnam, and Mao's recent injunction to the entire Chinese people to become militiamen so that the "imperialists will bog down upon moving a single step if they invade China," there is nothing to indicate that Peking wants war or is seriously preparing for it. For months the People's Liberation Army, weakened by the cutoff of the Soviet arms supply, has been preoccupied with the Lei Feng movement, a sort of help-thy-neighbor program based on the story of an improbably virtuous young soldier who is a combination Eagle Scout and Sir Galahad. However good this may be for the army's image with the populace, it is scarcely consistent with any plan to wage war.

Mao probably feels he is doing very well without resorting to war. With the exception of Thailand, where uneasiness is just beginning to develop, and the Philippines, which has the comforting presence of the South China Sea between itself and the mainland, the deterioration is everywhere obvious in Southeast Asia. All hinges on Vietnam. Failure there will fan the flames of Mao's revolutionary war in Southeast Asia, and far beyond.



The Lion of Malawi

PETER SCHMID

EVEN TRAVEL PLANS are affected by Africa's superheated political atmosphere. Malawi's prime minister, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who led the recently concluded struggle to create this new state out of the former British Protectorate of Nyasaland, flew off to the opening of the United Nations in New York by a circuitous route. His plane avoided the usual flight over Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, where only six weeks earlier six of his ministers had fled. It seemed advisable instead to fly over Salisbury, the stronghold of the white colonial settlers Banda had fought for more than a decade. Thus do political signs change swiftly from plus to minus and back again in the new Africa.

Now, just before takeoff time, the small, stocky prime minister sat facing us at a final press conference. "I really don't know why I'm here," he began. "The press has always been against me, never understood me. All right, on with your questions, and if it pleases me I'll answer them. But if someone asks a stupid question, I'll say so bluntly. Now, if you please, gentlemen." The newspapermen, white and black, just sat there in thoughtful silence. Dr. Banda looked at his aides. "No questions," he said triumphantly, with the implication "And you fools talked me into this."

Outside, a crowd waited, the women dressed in the regalia they had worn on Independence Day, July 6, 1964, when they had tirelessly carried pictures of their liberator. A cheerleader stood in front of a microphone. *"Kwacha!"* he shouted, and *"Kwacha!"* the crowd cried back. This Nyasa word, meaning both "dawn" and "freedom," is the old battle cry of the independence movement. "Not loud enough!" the cheerleader instructed them through the loudspeaker. "Once again!" *"Kwacha!,"* the crowd roared back, this time loud enough to suit him.

When Dr. Banda ascended the platform he had already discarded his arrogance. Now he was wholly the patriarch who turned to his people with a heavy heart. "The dismissed ministers are saying in Dar es Salaam that you are tired of me and my government, that you want to overthrow me. Is that true?" "No, Kamuzu!" the women at his feet shouted. "Do you want another prime minister, do you want Chipembere, do you want Chiume?" he asked. His rhetorical question produced the desired response.

The prime minister waved the white fly whisk he has carried with him like a scepter throughout the struggle for independence, and began his speech—in English. As Nehru did, he speaks the language of his people imperfectly. He left Ny-

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asaland in his mid-teens in order to study in the United States and then to practice medicine in London. Can a man live abroad for forty-three years and still be rooted in his native soil? Can a man reach the heart of his people through a translator?

Such questions would be justified if Dr. Banda had competitors of equal stature. But the prime minister, who had the courage and ability to make a career for himself in the alien West, is truly an unusual personality. As with Moïse Tshombe, one quality distinguishes him above everything else: he hasn't the slightest feeling of inferiority. Thus he can afford the luxury of being a realist, and, as such, a friend to the white man, while remaining a true African nationalist.

In 1953, the British Colonial Office united Northern Rhodesia—rich in minerals but thinly populated—and Nyasaland—heavily populated but mineral-poor—with the white colony of Southern Rhodesia. This act of federation tacitly guaranteed the predominance of the white colonialists. Dr. Banda's African conscience was aroused. He exchanged his prospering London practice for medical service in northern Ghana. There he struck up a personal but not political friendship with the country's dictator, Kwame Nkrumah, from whom he later borrowed a good part of the totalitarian trappings of his Malawi Congress Party.

He returned to Nyasaland in July, 1958, to take leadership of the resistance movement against the federation, and exactly six years later the black-red-green tricolor of independent Malawi fluttered from the flagpoles of Blantyre in place of the Union Jack. Dr. Banda is thus more than a politician; he has become the embodiment of independence. His English may be incomprehensible to his own people, but perhaps that really increases his stature; as a black man he has stripped the white man of the secret of his superiority. A god need not justify his ways to men.

A statesman may cunningly employ hero worship in his political calculations and yet tend inwardly, as did Nehru, toward self-skepticism. Another may grow drunk on his belief in his own infallibility and become the victim of his own myth. This is the point at which Dr. Banda's similarity to the ironic, enigmatic Tshombe ends and the special affinity he feels for Charles de Gaulle begins. Like de Gaulle—a man he respects and imitates—Dr. Banda is a man of lonely decisions that often go against the grain of his surroundings and isolate him in an ivory tower of dogmatism.

Tactless Tactics

There are two related major issues, one foreign and one domestic, on which Dr. Banda has steered a radically different course from his African colleagues. First, he refused to denounce the Portuguese as enemies. Not that he especially liked them, but his little sausage-shaped country is bounded on the south by Portugal's "province" of Mozambique, and Malawi's export-import traffic must pass through its harbor of Beira. Still, even if circumstances force him to adopt a "neutral" attitude, whether it is politically wise to greet Portuguese delegations as honored guests and to start an airline from Blantyre to Mozambique is open to question.

This debatable foreign-policy step did not stir up as much resentment as Dr. Banda's decision to refuse to Africanize his administration. British officials are still to be found in all the ministries, and not merely

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as advisers but as active department heads, serving immediately under black ministers. It is because of them that the government administration functions so smoothly in Malawi and that the small country is practically free of the cancer of corruption endemic in Africa. Dr. Banda thinks and talks about this question like a westerner: "Of course I'll replace the whites by Africans one day," he preaches to the black jobseekers. "But first of all, you don't know enough. Study hard, as I did for years, and when you are a match for the Europeans we'll talk it over again." He does not stop there. While members of the new black officialdom in most other African states draw the same high salaries as their white predecessors, Dr. Banda has cut the salaries of his black ministers and functionaries. No palaces and swanky cars—a tiny, impoverished country like Malawi can't afford them. Independence, the prime minister keeps repeating sharply, means first and foremost hard work and sacrifice.

EVEN when a statesman is right, he can put himself in the wrong if he is clumsy at putting his good ideas into practice. Dr. Banda let his ministers know at every turn that they were to take orders, that they were mere administrators without the power to make decisions. None of them dared revolt openly. But behind the old man's back they started to form an opposition. They looked around for allies, and Peking was ready to listen to them. The head of this conspiracy was Kanyama Chiume, the minister of external affairs, a radical firebrand with the eyes of a tiger and a Kaiser-style mustache, who hates whites so violently that he even scorns the Russians. When he returned enthusiastically one day from a visit to the Red Chinese embassy in Dar es Salaam (there is none in Malawi because Dr. Banda wanted to bestow diplomatic recognition on both Peking and Taipei) with a Peking offer of eighteen million pounds sterling, Dr. Banda threw Chiume and two of his Sinophile colleagues out of the cabinet. But he had not taken into account the resentment this would arouse among the other ministers. Three more, among them the prominent

minister of education, Henry Chipembere, announced their solidarity with Chiume and resigned. The war between the prime minister and his cabinet soon gripped the entire country.

THE NATURE of a struggle for liberation is that the tradition of violence bound up with it tends to spill over into the period of independence. Dr. Banda's Congress Party had created uniformed youth organizations that not only served to indoctrinate their members but also terrorized lukewarm people into "voluntarily" joining the party and of course intimidated its opponents. Only a few months after independence last July, following the conflict in the cabinet, pro-Banda and anti-Banda terror groups suddenly sprang into action. Houses were put to the torch, men were mercilessly clubbed. The prime minister won: he commanded a superior political organization (he made a point of wearing the green shirt of his League of Malawi Youth during the crisis); and the police and military under British officers unquestionably represented legal authority.

But it was only a Pyrrhic victory. On a trip through the country, I quickly learned how deeply Dr. Banda had alienated the intelligentsia by his despotic behavior. This is particularly true in the north, where most of the dismissed ministers come from and where the Church of Scotland mission, with its educational center at Livingstonia, has created a stronger intellectual climate than in the rest of the country. Teachers, officials, ministers—not one of those I talked with tried to hide his sympathies with the former cabinet ministers despite the danger involved.

Xenophobic demagogy, with all its illusions, makes a far greater appeal even among the more educated Africans than practical, realistic exhortations to be modest, disciplined, and industrious. Dr. Banda is aware of this but not greatly concerned. The educated layer that forms "public opinion" in Africa is very thin indeed, and a strong statesman can simply ignore it when he is the object of unquestioning hero worship by the common people. While Nkrumah scarcely dares show his face in public, cowering behind fortress walls, Dr. Banda traveled across his country during the crisis like a presidential candidate.

Nonetheless, Malawi's future is not rosy. Certainly the ministers who were foolish enough to carry on a flirtation with Peking are well out of the way. But their elimination has brought in its wake a whole series of dismissals and shake-ups in local party organizations that threaten to weaken the country's stability. Tribal conflicts have intensified. And worse, the men who have stepped into the vacant government posts are either second-rate yes men or connivers who exploit the old man's anger for their own petty purposes.

Meanwhile, Dr. Banda's mass support still appears intact. Along with the youth league, the women, whose position has been strengthened by Dr. Banda's relaxation of old tribal customs, provide his mass rallies with plenty of showmanship and enthusiasm through their dances and songs—a mixture of new politics and old hero myths. "The traitorous ministers are hyenas," they sing. "Kamuzu is the only lion."

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'Right to Work': A Hard One for LBJ

LEONARD BAKER

ORGANIZED LABOR'S major effort on Capitol Hill this year will be a drive for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act's Section 14B, which allows states to enact the so-called "right-to-work" laws. Business interests will naturally put up a fight to keep Section 14B on the books. President Johnson is caught in the middle.

Union leaders are quick to point out that the 1964 Democratic platform called for the repeal of Section 14B after it had been thoroughly examined by Mr. Johnson. To be sure, there have been similar planks in previous Democratic platforms, but Mr. Johnson, like previous Democratic Presidential candidates, said very little about the issue during the campaign. To have stressed repealing 14B would have alienated many of the businessmen who were deserting the Republican Party. It would still do so. Keeping all the support he gained in the election campaign is not just a question of personal vanity with Mr. Johnson. Building the Great Society—or even just passing Medicare, the Appalachian redevelopment program, and aid to education—will require broad support from all segments of the economy. A rousing Congressional fight over repealing 14B, with Johnson forced to take labor's side, could easily send many businessmen back to their traditional home in the G.O.P.

And there is bound to be a fight; the Republicans will see to that. It is a situation for Republicans to savor: some of the most ardent advocates of repeal will be Democrats from the big cities who depend on labor support, while some of the most ardent opponents of repeal will be Democrats from the South where "right-to-work" laws have taken a firm hold. In the Senate, for example, the proposed repeal would be considered by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, headed by Lister Hill of Alabama. That state has a "right-to-work" law, and Hill would fight any Federal action to kill it.

Republicans know that it was not partisan opposition that defeated Roosevelt's domestic program in 1937, when his majorities in Congress were even greater than Johnson's. It was the division within the Democratic Party over the plan to enlarge the Supreme Court. Republicans make no secret of their hope that an equally divisive issue will present itself in 1965.

Passing the Buck to the States

The debate over "right-to-work" laws goes back many years. In the 1930's, organized labor won two important concessions that enabled it to acquire muscle and money, and ultimately to improve working conditions. The first concession was the outlawing of the "yellow dog" contract. Under such a contract, a workingman, when he accepted employment, agreed *not* to join a union. The outlawing of such agreements, which led to the growth of strong and responsible unions, has been generally accepted as beneficial to industry, the worker, and the nation.

The second concession won by labor was the closed shop. Under a closed-shop contract, an employer agreed to hire only persons who were *already* members of a union. This, too, increased the unions' strength, but it also raised a serious philosophical question: despite management's past sins, was it really proper for others to dictate whom an employer could hire? In 1947, in passing the Taft-Hartley Act, Congress decreed that the answer should be "No." That act permitted the union shop. Under a union-shop contract, the employer may hire anybody he wants, but the new employee must then join the union, usually within thirty days after he starts on the job.

There were those who wanted to go even further. Senator Robert A. Taft argued that he could not "imagine any greater limitation on the right of contract than an act which says that A, an employee, a free American citizen, cannot even go to his employer and make a contract with his employer about the terms of his employment," while "the employer must deal with someone elected by a majority of the employees, against whom employee A may

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have voted." Taft was claiming that it was improper for any worker to be compelled to abide by union rules. A logical extension of his argument would have been a Federal law providing that no man may be compelled to join a union as a condition of his employment.

Congress was unwilling to take that step in 1947, but it did approve 14B, a single sentence of forty-four words reading: "Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any state or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law." This in effect means that when a state passes a "right-to-work" law, an employee of a firm within that state may not be compelled to join a union although a majority of his fellow employees may have voted to be represented by the union.

THE Taft-Hartley proposal finally became law on June 23, 1947, when Congress overrode President Truman's veto. But during the preceding five months, there had been a flurry of activity in the various state legislatures to adopt laws forbidding compulsory union membership. Between January 21 and June 10, "right-to-work" laws were passed in Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, South Dakota, North Dakota, North Carolina, Arizona, Georgia, Texas, Iowa, and Nebraska. Earlier legislation in Florida was interpreted as "right-to-work" in a 1950 court decision. Between 1951 and 1963, eight more states passed such laws: Nevada, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Utah, Indiana, Kansas, and Wyoming. With the exception of Indiana, "right-to-work" laws have generally been defeated in industrial states, but it is scarcely a dead issue.

Organized labor would like to end the whole thing once and for all by repealing Section 14B. Labor resents the effort, time, and money that have been spent in local fights across the nation. "We could be getting minimum-wage legislation or safety laws through the state legislatures if we didn't have to be always fighting this thing," said one official of the AFL-CIO. Questioned about an estimate that $12 million had been poured into the dispute, he answered: "The national organization has spent less than one-sixth of that. But there's no way of knowing what the locals, the international unions, and the regional and state conferences spent. Any figure anyone would give would just be a guess. But both sides have put in millions of dollars."

The Sunny South

Those who favor the repeal of 14B argue that permitting a man to be a "free rider," to enjoy all the benefits gained from the union efforts without making any contribution to the union, is grossly unfair to the majority of the man's fellow workers who do belong to the union. The opposition to repeal, as outlined in Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers printed material, relies heavily on

the contention that no man should be compelled to join any organization or support any organization against his will. "No majority, whether it be a slim 50.1 per cent or whopping 99.9 per cent, should be able to compel the minority by a popular vote to join or support the majority—whether in a church, a club, or any private organization. The same principle applies to a union," declares a Chamber of Commerce pamphlet entitled "EXPOSED, Union Myths About Right to Work."

While the philosophical arguments by both sides are pertinent, they are not the main issue. The main issue is the power of organized labor as a national institution. It is already waning appreciably as the American economy provides fewer jobs for the laborer, common or skilled, and more jobs for the manager and supervisor who traditionally do not belong to unions. Labor is further weakened as industry, becoming more mobile, moves to states having "right-to-work" laws. In fact, such laws are often passed with the deliberate intention of luring industry away from the high-priced Northeastern and Middle Western labor markets. An argument both for and against "right-to-work," depending on where you sit, is that in states where the law is in force the average per capita annual income is $384 less than the national average.

A letter from a mayor of a Southern town to the president of a Connecticut company during the 1950's indicates how the lure of a feeble labor movement can be held out to an American company searching for a new home: "Our wonderful labor, ninety-eight per cent native born, mostly high school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates six cents to forty-nine cents below other Southern states and from fifty cents to ninety-five cents below Northern states. You will also get a much higher average man production, some plants even getting double what they got in their northern plants. This labor is truly American, not inflicted with the 'Something for Nothing' idea and works together joyously with management for the success of both. . . . No one will tell you whom you must employ and all detrimental state laws for industrial operations have been repealed."

"WE'VE ALWAYS wanted to try for repeal," said a union official, "but when you counted noses in Congress, you realized you couldn't do it." This year is different. The November elections increased the margin of those who might be expected to favor repeal in both wings of the Capitol, particularly in the House, where the margin of Democrats over Republicans increased from eighty-two to 155. "There's no doubt about it," the union official emphasized; "the repeal of 14B is number one for us in 1965." As for the outcome, he expressed optimism: "According to a very careful survey, we feel that with President Johnson's assistance, repeal of 14B would be a walkaway. With his benevolent neutrality, we could still do it." When asked what the odds would be if Mr. Johnson opposed repeal, the union official replied emphatically: "That won't happen."

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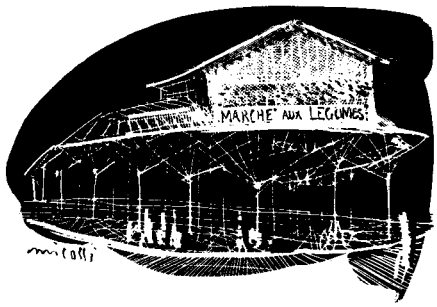
The opposition to repeal is led by the National Right to Work Committee, an organization that claims the support of several thousand small businessmen and even some union members. A spokesman for the group has conceded that "the unions are going to be able to put up a very formidable repeal campaign. But we don't think they're going to be successful. There has been no enthusiasm on the part of anyone for repeal, except the unions." The same spokesman also pointed out that bringing 14B to the floor of Congress would mean opening up the Taft-Hartley Act for many changes, not all of them acceptable to organized labor.

The strategy implicit in this threat is already being implemented. Representative Robert P. Griffin (R., Michigan) has announced that he will sponsor legislation to repeal Section 14B. But his bill will also make other changes to "provide effective protection for basic legal and civil rights of individual workers affected by compulsory union membership requirements." Griffin was co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, the only major omnibus labor legislation to pass Congress since Taft-Hartley, and his views carry weight. One of the "other changes" he has suggested would require that "dues and assessments paid by workers who are required to join a union should be used for collective bargaining purposes and not for politics." Griffin would also propose that "Congress must make certain that workers compelled to join a union will not be fined or disciplined by union officials" for such conduct as attacking union policies or challenging union leaders.

Labor officials argue that Griffin's proposed changes are unnecessary, and they question his sincerity. But while conceding that his strategy of tying repeal of Section 14B to more restrictive proposals on unions can be a problem, they still maintain that they have the votes in Congress to push through repeal of 14B without any riders. And they intend to do just that.

The battle, which threatens the consensus President Johnson needs for the months ahead, seems unavoidable. As one White House aide remarked, "This is a rough one."



The Six Move Toward Union

CLAIRE STERLING

BRUSSELS

LATE IN OCTOBER General de Gaulle let it be known that France would "cease to participate" in the European Economic Community unless a uniform price for grain produced by all six participating nations was set by December 15. France's withdrawal would certainly have killed the Common Market. But de Gaulle has now barred his own exit. By goading the Six into breaking the long deadlock on farm prices, he has in fact pushed them so irreversibly toward complete economic integration that none of them—France least of all—could conceivably back out of the Common Market any more.

Until the agreement on grain prices was reached just before dawn on December 15, the Common Market had been doing badly indeed. Angered by de Gaulle's veto against Britain's entry, hopelessly split by French and American claims to their loyalty, sharply at odds in their own concepts of Europe, the Six had made no decisions of any consequence for two years. And during much of that time the French and Germans, the protagonists of December's performance, had barely been on speaking terms. Now, with this grain agreement, the European Economic Community has not only come up out of the depths but has vigorously moved onto a new and higher plateau.

Had the question hung fire much longer, the Common Market would have been reduced to a mere customs union. What is in the making now is a true merger of six countries into a homogeneous community of 180 million people with a single frontier and currency, where billions of dollars' worth of agricultural goods will move just as freely as manufactured goods. While the Six have found it relatively painless to lower their industrial tariff walls during these boom years, agriculture has been another matter.

NO COUNTRY in the world has a competitive agricultural system. Each of the Six has had its own intricate structure of state subsidies, price props, and protective devices for farm produce, not to mention its own formidable farmers' lobbies. Because of these complications, France has been waiting six years for the fulfillment of a bargain made when the Common Market came into being. It had seemed likely then that West Germany, the most advanced industrially of the Six, stood to benefit most from industrial tariff cuts. In compensation, it was understood that France would become the Community's breadbasket, with a guaranteed market for its massive farm surpluses—wheat in particular. (Last year, for instance, the French wheat surplus ran to 3.5 million tons, worth nearly $400 million.)

To keep the bargain, the Six would have to dismantle their respective farm structures, replace them with a Community-wide one, harmonize the prices within it, and then shield these prices by putting levies on foreign imports. The plan would have the advantage of protecting the whole Community's high-cost agriculture, but it was unattractive to several of the Six, and exceptionally so to West Germany. The levy system would create a built-in preference obliging Germany, a big importer, to buy com-

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Philadelphia Nat'l Bank
Philip Morris, Inc.
Phillips Petroleum
Phoenix Insurance (Hart.)
Phoenix Steel Corp.
Pillsbury Co.
Pioneer Natural Gas
Piper Aircraft Corp.
Pitney-Bowes
Pittsburgh Coke & Chemical
Pittsburgh Forgings
Pittsburgh Plate Glass
Pittsburgh Steel Co.
Pittsburgh & Lake Erie R.R.
Pittsburgh & W. Va. Rwy
Pittston
Plough, Inc.
Pocket Books, Inc.
Polaroid Corp.
Poor & Co.
Potomac Electric
Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Price Bros. & Co.
Procter & Gamble
Public Service of Colo
Pub. Serv. Elec. & Gas
Public Service of Indiana
Public Service of N. H.
Pub. Service of New Mexico
Publicker Industries
Puget Sound P. & L.
Pullman
Pure Oil
Purex Corp.
Quaker Oats
Radio Corp. of America
Ralston Purina
Raybestos-Manhattan
Raymond International
Rayonier
Raytheon Mfg.
Reading
Red Owl Stores
Reed Roller Bit
Reichhold Chemicals
Reliance Electric & Eng.
Reliance Insurance
Remington Arms Co.
Republic Aviation
Republic Corp.
Republic Nat'l Bk., Dallas
Republic Nat'l Life Ins.
Republic Steel
Revere Copper & Brass
Revlon, Inc.
Rexall Drug
Reynolds Metals
Reynolds (R. J.) Tobacco
Rheem Manufacturing
Rhodesian Selection Trust
Richardson-Merrell
Richfield Oil
Riegel Paper
Ritter Co.
Robertshaw Controls
Rochester Gas & Electric
Rochester Telephone
Rockwell Mfg.
Rockwell-Standard
Rohm & Haas
Rohr Corp.
Ronson Corp.
Royal Bank of Canada
Royal Crown Cola
Royal Dutch Petroleum
Royal McBee Corp.
Ruberoid
Ryder System
Safeway Stores
St. Joseph Lead
St. Louis-San Fran. Rwy.
St. Paul Fire & Marine Ins.
St. Regis Paper
Salada Foods
San Diego Gas & Electric
San Diego Imperial
Sangamo Electric
Schenley Industries
Schering
Schick, Inc.
Schlitz (Jos.) Brewing
Schlumberger, Ltd.
SCM Corp.
Scott Paper
Scovill Mfg.
Screw & Bolt Corp.
Seaboard Air Line R.R.
Seaboard Finance
Seaboard World Air Lines
Sealright-Oswego Falls
Searle (G. D.) & Co.
Sears, Roebuck
Seattle-First Nat'l Bank
Security-First Nat'l (L.A.)
SFC Financial
Shamrock Oil & Gas
Sharon Steel
Shattuck (Frank G.)
Shawinigan Water & Pr.
Shell Oil
Shell Transport & Tr.
Sheller Mfg.
Sheraton Corp. of Amer.
Sherwin-Williams
Signal Oil & Gas
Simmons Co.
Simonds Saw & Steel
Sinclair Oil
Singer Co.
Skelly Oil
Smith (A. O.)
Smith, Kline & French
Socony Mobil Oil
Soo Line Railroad
South Carolina El. & Gas
South Puerto Rico Sugar
Southern California Ed.
Southern Co.
Southern Natural Gas
Southern New Eng. Tel.
Southern Pacific
Southern Railway
Southern Union Gas Co.
Southwestern Public Serv.
Spector Freight
Spencer Chemical Co.
Sperry Rand
Spiegel
Sprague Electric
Springfield Ins.
Square D
Staley (A. E.) Mfg.
Standard Brands
Standard Kollsman
Standard Oil of Cal.
Standard Oil of Indiana
Standard Oil of N. J.
Standard Oil of Ohio
Standard Packaging
Stanley Warner
Stanley Works (The)
Stanray Corp.
Starrett (L. S.)
Stauffer Chemical
Steel Co. of Canada, Ltd.
Steinberg's Ltd.
Sterling Drug
Stevens (J. P.)
Stewart-Warner
Stokely-Van Camp
Stone Container
Stone & Webster
Storer Broadcasting
Studebaker Corp.
Suburban Propane Gas
Sucrest Corp.
Sunbeam
Sundstrand Corp.
Sunray DX Oil
Sunshine Biscuits
Swift
Symington Wayne Corp.
Talcott (James), Inc.
Tampa Electric
Tampax, Inc.
Technicolor
Teleregister
Tenn. Gas Transmission
Texaco
Texaco Canada, Ltd.
Texas Eastern Transmission
Texas Gas Transmission
Texas Gulf Producing
Texas Gulf Sulphur
Texas Instruments, Inc.
Texas Pacific Coal & Oil
Texas Utilities
Textron, Inc.
Thatcher Glass Mfg.
Thiokol Chemical Corp.
Thompson Ramo
Tidewater Oil
Time, Inc.
Timken Roller Bearing
Toledo Edison
Toronto-Dominion Bank
Torrington
Trane Co.
Transamerica
Transcontinental Gas Pipe
Trans World Airlines
Travelers Insurance
Tri-Continental
Tung-Sol Electric, Inc.
Twentieth Century-Fox
Udylite Corp.
Union Bag-Camp Paper
Union Bank (Los Angeles)
Union Carbide
Union Electric
Union Oil of California
Union Pacific Railroad
Union Tank Car
Union Twist Drill Co.
United Air Lines
United Aircraft
United Biscuit of America
United Corp.
United Electric Coal
United Engineering
United Fruit
United Gas
United Gas Improvement
United-Greenfield Corp.
United Illuminating
United Merchants & Mfrs.
United Shoe Machinery
U. S. Borax & Chemical
U. S. Fidelity & G'ty
U. S. Fire Insurance
U. S. & Fgn. Securities
U. S. Freight
U. S. Gypsum
U. S. Industries
U. S. Life Insurance Co.
U. S. Lines
U. S. Pipe & Foundry
U. S. Playing Card
U. S. Plywood
U. S. Rubber
U. S. Shoe
U. S. Smelting
Sun Chemical
Sun Oil
U. S. Steel
U. S. Tobacco
U. S. Vitamin
United Whelan Corp.
Universal American Corp.
Universal-Cyclops Steel
Universal Leaf Tobacco
Universal Match
Universal Oil Products
Upjohn Co. (The)
Utah Power & Light
Valley Nat'l Bk. of Ariz.
Van Raalte
Vanadium Corp. of Amer.
Varian Associates
Vendo
Virginia-Carolina Chem.
Virginia Electric & Power
Von's Grocery
Wachovia Bank & Trust
Wagner Electric Corp.
Walgreen
Walker (Hiram)-G. & W.
Wallace & Tiernam
Walter (Jim) Corp.
Walworth
Ward Baking Co.
Warner Bros. Pictures
Warner-Lambert
Warner & Swasey
Warren Bros. Co.
Washington Gas Light
Washington Water Power
Webb & Knapp, Inc.
Wells Fargo Amer. Trust
Wesco Financial
West Kentucky Coal
West Point Mfg.
West. Va. Pulp & Paper
Western Air Lines
Western Bancorporation
Western Maryland Rwy.
Western Pacific Railroad
Western Power & Gas
Western Publishing
Western Union Tel.
Westinghouse Air Brake
Westinghouse Electric
Weyerhaeuser Timber
Wheeling Steel
Whirlpool Corp.
White (S. S.) Dental
White Motor
Wilson & Co.
Winn-Dixie Stores
Wisconsin Electric Power
Wisconsin Power & Light
Wisconsin Public Service
Witco Chemical
Woodward Iron Co.
Woolworth (F. W.)
Worthington
Wrigley (Wm.), Jr.
Xerox Corp.
Youngstown S. & T.
Youngstown Steel Door
Zenith Radio

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paratively expensive French wheat (which the Germans don't like) rather than the cheaper American and Canadian varieties (which they do like); and a harmonized Community price would mean that West Germany's own wheat price, nearly a third higher than the French, would have to come down—presumably, or so Bonn has argued, bringing the German government down with it

For Italy, on the other hand, the built-in preference would eventually be helpful when applied to olive oil, fruits, and vegetables. But the proposed compromise on grains would at the same time lower Italy's wheat price and raise its feed-grain prices by anywhere from a quarter to a third. Cheaper wheat would mean a reduced income for the desperately poor southern wheat farmers; higher feed costs would discourage cattle breeders in the midst of a critical meat shortage and exasperate consumers, who would have to pay even more for meat than they do now. Given the instability of the Italian Center-Left government, the popular reaction might be just as calamitous in Rome as in Bonn.

Despite two marathon year-end sessions, in 1962 and 1963, the Community's Council of Ministers had never really faced up to the problem. The most de Gaulle could extract was a provisional and cumbersome levy system that in effect required the Community to underwrite his surplus wheat sales elsewhere, with the result that Italy and Germany recently had to fork out $46 million to subsidize his sale of 1.5 million tons of wheat to Red China. No one imagined that things could go on like that. Yet the settlement might hardly be nearer even now if de Gaulle's peremptory warning hadn't shaken Washington almost as much as Brussels. For after the October ultimatum, the Americans, too, bore down heavily on Germany to yield.

In themselves, uniform grain prices —$106.25 a metric ton for soft wheat, $93.75 for rye, $91.25 for barley, and $90.625 for feed corn, all prices to go into effect on July 1, 1967—were not attractive to the United States either. Every extra ton of French wheat sold within the Community would mean a proportionate drop in our share of the market; and grains made up nearly one-third of the $1 billion worth of farm produce we sold to the Six last year. But de Gaulle also made it plain in October that without this settlement, there could be no "useful negotiations" on the Kennedy Round of tariff-cutting negotiations; and the Kennedy Round happens to be a bargain that *we* have been waiting more than two years to see fulfilled.

President Kennedy called upon the European Community, Great Britain, and the United States to form a "partnership among equals" in the summer of 1962. His Grand Design was not inspired by idealism alone. The United States has been spending roughly $50 billion a year for the maintenance of a military structure on which Western Europe has relied primarily for its own defense; in proposing to launch the equal partnership with a two-way fifty per cent reduction in tariffs, Kennedy was demanding at least a partial return.

An End to Privilege

Warmly as the Common Market was welcomed in Washington, the emergence of this great new economic formation had disturbing aspects from the start. It was sophisticated enough industrially to become an important competitor; and as the world's largest trading entity—its annual exports and imports total nearly $50 billion—it would inevitably have a tremendous impact on the pattern of international commerce. That would not necessarily hurt us in the first transitional stages. On the contrary, we have been making a handsome profit from its remarkable early growth: the balance of U.S.-Community trade, now nearing a record $7 billion, is $1.5 billion in our favor. But this has happened mostly because the Six have not yet tampered much with their outer tariffs. Now that they have gone two-thirds of the way toward freeing their internal trade, however, they are preparing to erect a common external tariff—not too high, but high enough to reward those in the community who have been taking the biggest risks. When that tariff does go up, in 1967, we must lose our privileged position.

What President Kennedy was really asking for was a guaranteed return to that privileged position we have been enjoying. For if the Kennedy Round succeeds, the Community's unified external tariff will no sooner go up than it will come down again, leaving the Common Market no less accessible to us than it was before. Of course, the American market would in turn become more accessible to the Six, since the tariff cuts would be reciprocal.

THE PROSPECT of competing more freely with us on our home grounds produces some misgivings among the Six. Except for the Germans, the Europeans are none too confident of standing up to the "mastodons of American industry," as French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville has put it, on either side of the Atlantic.

Considering how the French feel about this, it seems surprising that President de Gaulle should have agreed to the Kennedy Round in the first place. France and Germany had started out with, respectively, the highest and lowest tariffs of the Six. Under the common external tariff, therefore, the Germans will have to raise theirs, while the French level will come down; and the Kennedy Round would make it lower still. Since the French have lost nearly all their old tariff protection inside the Common Market, this third jolt would be pretty hard to take.

"Admittedly," a French Eurocrat here in Brussels has conceded, "we've done better than we had expected in the Common Market. Our sales have nearly tripled since 1958, which is more than even the Germans can say. But the Germans have never been afraid of competition, whereas our industrialists used to lead the most sheltered lives in Europe. They are already straining every nerve to compete not just with the Germans but with all the Americans who have moved in on us. Your people have invested billions in the Common Market countries; and while they are making a fortune here, they export nothing to America to help us earn back some of the foreign exchange we spend in your country. Now you tell us that Ford and General Motors, who control a third of the German automobile industry—and Chrysler, which controls a fifth of

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ours—should have the right to sell us their American-made cars as well.

"On top of that," he went on, "you expect us to lower our agricultural tariffs for you, when our average farms are ten times smaller than yours, and your farmers, up to the eyes in Federal subsidies, are God knows how much richer than ours—and when your government is paying to keep your exported wheat price artificially low. And you will accuse us of anti-Americanism if we refuse."

FAR FROM refusing, de Gaulle has given in with good grace. He has agreed to exclude only eighteen per cent of the Community's manufactured goods from the coming negotiations (though he had asked for nearly twice that figure); he has even agreed to talk about automobiles. But he could not very well have done otherwise. Since the Germans hope to gain from the Kennedy Round what they will lose on the common cereals price, they would never have surrendered last month without at least this much of an assurance from de Gaulle. And they are still so skeptical of his ultimate intentions that they have refused to put the cereal price into effect until 1967—simultaneously with what they will expect to be the successful conclusion of the Kennedy Round. For the general does not have to say "No" in order to sink this venture as he did in the case of British entry into the Common Market: he might merely fail to say "Yes" often enough during the next two years of negotiations.

Whether he does or not will probably depend, first of all, on the Americans' negotiating posture. If the bargaining is to be truly reciprocal, we shall have to make unilateral concessions in some fields where our tariffs are prohibitive—such as the chemical industry, one of the few where the French think they can really invade our market effectively. But even that might not be enough if we persist in demanding reciprocal concessions for our agriculture. Having threatened only recently to wreck the Common Market on this issue, de Gaulle is not likely to be any more lenient toward the United States. The negotiations might very well collapse altogether unless we are content to leave the Community's new farm levies more or less as they are.

But no matter what kind of agreement Europe reaches with the United States, no one doubts any longer that some sort of political integration in Europe has become inevitable. The common agricultural policy will mean that millions (perhaps billions) of dollars will eventually be flowing into an Agricultural Fund administered by professional Eurocrats in the Community's High Commission. It will also require a string of other synchronized policies if it is to be at all coherent: a single currency, harmonized freight rates, and above all, a Community-wide trade policy for infinitely complex large-scale dealings with outside countries.

Union When?

All this implies such a considerable sacrifice of national sovereignty, both in finance and foreign affairs, that the Six could not conceivably go ahead for long without a political structure of one kind or another. What's more, they know

it. For the first time since de Gaulle turned Britain down in January, 1963, they are not only talking about political union but moving toward it without the British.

Of course, the British will be missed. While de Gaulle has rejected them as "America's traveling salesmen," the smaller Community countries have been eager for their presence so as to strike a better balance of political power. Without Britain, they fear domination not just by France—especially a nationalist France—but also by Germany with its enormous industrial (and potentially military) strength.

Not without misgivings, therefore, the Six are now considering what form their political union ought to take. The case for a thoroughly integrated supranational government has always appealed powerfully to five of them; and President de Gaulle as always is intractable in opposing it—or at any rate, he appears to be. Actually, he has already given up more national sovereignty than he had ever remotely hinted he would, by accepting—indeed, demanding—the common agricultural policy.

A Europe organically united in National policies must inevitably have an independent military structure of its own. By now, none of the Six questions the necessity of creating it, perhaps four or five years hence—when the NATO pact expires. Whether or not the controversial multilateral nuclear force comes into being, therefore, this new European formation is only a matter of time.

FORTUNATELY, the high pressures exerted by the U.S. government on our European allies for accepting the multilateral nuclear force have recently been diminished on orders from President Johnson. The time could not be more opportune. While de Gaulle may never be positively genial toward the Americans, he is clearly in excellent humor these days. He has just made his peace with Germany on terms that may be extremely profitable to us later; and Franco-German friendship is supposed to have been a cornerstone of American policy in Europe since the last World War. He has agreed to high-level talks on European political union, another primary American objective for the past two decades. He is going along nicely so far on the Kennedy Round—whereas only last May his finance minister had sat in glacial silence throughout the preliminary session of these negotiations in Geneva. He has even shown a certain guarded willingness to compromise on nuclear targeting and co-ordination in NATO.

This may only be a truce. But if there is a modicum of good will and good sense on the two shores of the Atlantic during these next few years, both the equality and the partnership President Kennedy envisioned can come closer to reality.

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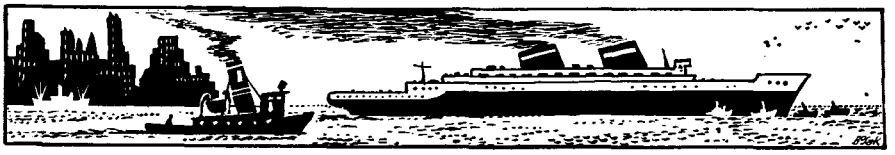

Immigration: Quotas vs. Quality

PAUL DUKE and STANLEY MEISLER

EVER SINCE Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, usually called the McCarran-Walter Act, over President Truman's protest and veto in 1952, there has been pressure for a fundamental overhaul of our discriminatory immigration laws. President Kennedy's book *A Nation of Immigrants,* prepared shortly before his death, was intended to build public support for liberalization, and President Johnson showed during the election campaign that he is also committed to reform. A serious debate on immigration policy almost certainly will be high on the agenda of the new Congress.

While the McCarran-Walter Act brought up to date hundreds of laws governing the entry of foreigners, it also reaffirmed the cornerstone of American immigration policy—the much-criticized national-origins quota system—and imposed new restrictions on visa applicants. As a result, critics regard U.S. immigration regulations as a hodgepodge of rigid and cruel absurdities that flagrantly discriminate against countries in Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa, thereby undermining our foreign-policy objectives. Furthermore, for all its stress on keeping out Communist sympathizers, the McCarran-Walter Act makes no provision for helping those who escape from the Soviet orbit. Only through special acts were refugees from Hungary and Cuba admitted.

The administration plans to resubmit a bill along the same broad lines suggested by Kennedy in a special message to Congress in July, 1963. The new recommendations probably would add no more than fifty thousand to the annual average of 273,000 who have come in each year during the last decade under current regulations. These immigrants, however, would differ to some extent in nationality and skills from those arriving today. The coming battle over immigration reform is likely to center not on the number but on the kind of immigrants. To rebut charges that more immigrants would put Americans out of work, the administration has carefully framed its proposals so that the impact on employment will be minimal.

THE REVISIONS, moreover, would give greater emphasis to attracting persons needed to fill shortages and having exceptional abilities. Under the administration's proposal, their admission would be granted if their services were adjudged to be "especially advantageous" to the United States. The formulation of the preferred lists (which certainly would include physicians, engineers, physicists, teachers, and many types of technicians) would be left to a new seven-member immigration board. The board would work closely with the Labor Department to refuse visa awards to persons who might take jobs capable of being filled domestically. With some slight reservations, the AFL-CIO has endorsed the administration's proposals. An exception is labor's leading role in ending the "braceros" program whereby Mexican workers were imported seasonally to harvest crops in Western states, at rates that kept down pay scales of domestic workers and seriously impeded union organizing efforts.

The proposals envision the gradual abolition of the national-quotas system over a five-year span. This system, which has been in existence for forty years, in 1964 allotted a total of 158,161 to most of the countries of the world in proportion to their share of the national origins of the American white population in 1920. Thus Britain, Germany, and Ireland now get seventy per cent of the quota. Britain and Ireland leave many places unfilled, and the law does not permit transfers to other countries. In the last ten years, quota immigration has annually fallen from fifty to sixty thousand below the prescribed quota. The administration bill would create a pool that, in effect, would admit 165,000 immigrants from anywhere, with preference going to those with skills or special talents and to relatives trying to join their families already in the United States.

The immigrant flow from a number of European nations would rise sharply. Administration experts estimate that 63,332 persons would come from Greece in the next five years compared to 1,540 under current policy, 82,090 from Italy compared to 18,330, and 31,000 from Portugal compared to 2,100. Liberalization almost certainly would increase the number of applicants, but this does not worry U.S. officials. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "It would not bother me at all to say to anyone outside the United States, 'We are sorry that we cannot admit you because we have run out of numbers,' but it does make it difficult from a political and psychological point of view to say, 'I am sorry but we have run out of numbers for Greeks.' "

The administration bill would make no change in the laws which allow nonquota immigration from countries in the Western Hemisphere and which make special provisions for refugees from Communism. In the last ten years, in fact, two-thirds of the total immigrants have entered under these nonquota regulations. But although the administration bill would deal only with a third of the immigration complex, it would abolish the whole national-origins concept, which, in the words of John F. Kennedy, "is an anachronism" that "neither satisfies a national need nor accomplishes an international purpose."

Feighan vs. Celler

Despite the improved prospects, the battle for reform will be a touchy one with several obstacles to be hurdled. One is a bitter feud between Emanuel Celler (D., New

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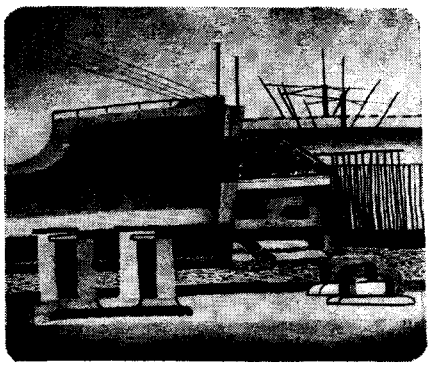
York), the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and Michael A. Feighan (D., Ohio), the chairman of the committee's subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality. The feud flared into the open when Feighan succeeded to the subcommittee chairmanship in June, 1963, upon the death of Francis E. Walter (D., Pensylvania), the czar of immigration legislation in Congress. Feighan soon found that seniority had gained him Walter's title but not Walter's power. Celler, moving to assert his own authority over immigration legislation, decided to take a greater role in the subcommittee's work and made it quite clear that he would not permit Feighan to operate independently.

At first it was believed that Feighan, an obscure veteran of more than twenty years in Congress, would be more conciliatory toward revising immigration policy than Walter ever had been. But he soon began making headlines that dispelled these illusions. He charged that Soviet spies had infiltrated the Central Intelligence Agency. He demanded that the State Department keep Richard Burton out of the country because of immoral conduct with Elizabeth Taylor. And he talked of rumors about huge payoffs to fix immigration cases. None of this inspired confidence in Feighan's capacity to lead a campaign for reform, in which he had never shown much interest anyway.

Some of Feighan's friends ascribed his antics to Celler's refusal to let him hire his own staff, use subpoena powers, and otherwise conduct the subcommittee as he wished. At one point, Feighan charged that Celler had threatened to depose him. If Celler did make the threat, he never attempted to translate it into accomplishment. Judiciary Committee sources say that Celler did consider switching subcommittee assignments to take away Feighan's jurisdiction over the immigration unit but was dissuaded when he realized that he might be outvoted by the full committee.

Despite his troubles with Celler, Feighan almost outflanked the seventy-six-year-old Brooklyn congressman when he unexpectedly activated the Joint Senate-House Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy and maneuvered himself into the chairmanship. The Joint Committee had been created in 1952, and consisted of the chairman of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees and the members of the Senate and House Immigration subcommittees. In twelve years it had met only once, for eight minutes, the principal reason for its inactivity being Walter's reluctance to share any of his authority. But a few weeks after Walter's death, Feighan quietly sent all members of the Joint Committee a resolution denoting himself as chairman. A majority of the members perfunctorily signed the resolution, and Feighan legally was elected chairman of a unit that ostensibly would do nothing.

FEIGHAN quickly shattered this illusion and indicated he meant to build the Joint Committee into a personal power base. His first act was to appoint Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, an assistant in his office and an official of the Displaced Persons Commission during the Truman administration, to be staff director of the joint group. Feighan next asked the House Appropriations Committee to increase the Joint Committee's annual appropria-



tion from a token $20,000 to $160,460, a rise he said was needed for a comprehensive investigation of immigrant activities and the reports of "widespread bribery and corruption" in the handling of immigration cases. Until such an investigation was made, Feighan said, he had no intention of considering reform legislation.

The Appropriations Committee rejected his request, denying Feighan life-and-death power over immigration matters. As a result, Feighan took his battle to the floor last April and asked his colleagues to overrule the Appropriations Committee. In the process, he accused Celler of hampering the cause of reform by opposing the Joint Committee's activation and by unduly restricting Feighan's movements in the subcommittee. Celler in turn accused Feighan of making "unwarranted fulminations against me," adding that he had no intention of "diluting" his prerogatives as chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

The House ultimately supported Celler, but by the barest of margins. With fewer than half the members on the floor, Feighan's amendment was defeated by a 69-69 tie vote. Feighan drew most of his support from ultraconservative Republicans. "They were delighted," said a Democratic congressman, "with the idea of putting some money into the hands of someone who wanted to look for Communists in government and might embarrass the administration."

The main effect of all this skirmishing was to rule out any chance of Congressional action on the administration's reform proposals in the 1963 and 1964 sessions. But Feighan, rebuffed at every turn, was hardly of a mind to co-operate with Celler, the chief House sponsor of the administration bill. And within the Immigration subcommittee, there was little initiative for drafting legislation.

The Embattled Xenophobes

Then, last June, Feighan unexpectedly began to hold hearings on the administration's measure. There was speculation that he had been frightened by a surprisingly tough Democratic primary race against an opponent who accused him of procrastinating on immigration reform. Still, Feighan made it clear that he did not support the administration bill by introducing one of his own. While retaining the national-origins concept, it proposed to reassign the unused quotas of Britain, Ireland, and a few other countries during the next two years to the Greeks, Italians, Poles, and others on long waiting lists. But it became clear that the subcommittee's majority regarded even Feighan's bill as too big a change. As Frank Chelf (D., Kentucky) had re-

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marked at an earlier session: "I have been on this subcommittee now for some eighteen years. I have always been a rather strong believer in the national-origin theory. It was the law when I came here. It is the law of the land today, thank heaven."

Pilgrim Fathers

There is even less liking for reform within the Senate subcommittee on Immigration, which is headed by the xenophobic James O. Eastland (D., Mississippi). This hostile subcommittee, after some pressure by the White House, held a few perfunctory hearings on immigration last year but never seriously considered the administration bill. Eastland has been content to let the House struggle with the issue. Now, however, the mounting pressure for liberalization makes it unlikely that either the House or the Senate subcommittee can do much more than wage a delaying battle in 1965. If need be, administration forces can probably bypass both panels. Thus the real question appears to be: How much liberalization will Congress approve?

Faced with the new realities—the pro-administration majorities and a genuine Presidential push—some opponents are concluding that their best course lies in supporting a compromise plan that would relax restrictions to some extent while preserving the national-origins system largely intact. The reformers obviously expect much more, and it seems probable that Congress will consent to increase the immigrant totals substantially and sanction greater quotas for countries with waiting lists. It is likely, too, that significant alteration in the national-origins system will occur—perhaps with 1960 instead of 1920 used as a basis in allocating quotas.

But the primary goal—the abolition of the national-origins concept—may prove unattainable because of entrenched resistance. Even among some reformers there remains more than a trace of the feeling voiced by Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley: "As a pilgrim father that missed th' first boats, I must raise me claryon voice agin' th' invasion iv this fair land be th' paupers an' arnychists iv effete Europe. Ye bet I must—because I'm here first."

Religion and the FCC

MARCUS COHN

While the U.S. Supreme Court has been gradually strengthening Jefferson's "wall of separation between church and state," the Federal Communications Commission has been doing its best to persuade people to go to church.

Ever since its creation thirty years ago, the FCC has required an applicant for a new radio or television station to give detailed information concerning the quantity and quality of the various types of programs he intends to broadcast. Prominently listed in second place on its application form are religious programs. In fact, the applicant is required to submit a program schedule that sets forth the exact times when religious programs will be carried and whether the sponsoring churches will be required to pay for their time.

When the time comes around to renew his license, every three years, the station owner is required to state, among other things, the precise amount of time he devoted to religious programming during the preceding three years and the quantity and nature of such programming he intends to broadcast in the future. He is also frequently requested to supply additional programming information—including further details concerning past and proposed religious programming. The commission then proceeds to decide whether the station has served and will continue to serve the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

Although it is difficult to estimate the exact weight the FCC gives to religious programming in its decision processes, there can be no doubt that it is significant. The commission has held, for example, that the proposed religious programming of one applicant for a television station in Evansville, Indiana, was superior to another because it afforded a "more positive proposal for providing time to diverse religious faiths." In another case, it gave a comparative—although not a disqualifying—demerit to one of two competing applicants because its proposed program schedule failed to include "any strictly religious programs" and thus left a "void in [its] over-all program structure."

In 1960 the commission issued a decision concerning two applicants for a radio station at Oswego, New York. One of the applicants intended to broadcast three hours of sustaining—that is to say, free—religious

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programming a week, while the other proposed to broadcast two hours of commercially sponsored religious programs. The FCC held that "While the Commission does not regard commercial religious programs as inherently objectionable, nevertheless, it is concluded that the provision of more religious programming [by one of the applicants] and all on a sustaining basis is better calculated to serve the varied religious needs of the community. . . ."

There is no evidence that the FCC has ever awarded a license just on the basis that one applicant has proposed a better religious program schedule than another. But through the practice of making comparative judgments in this category, the commission has clearly implied that religious programming could be a decisive factor if two or more applicants were equally qualified on all other points.

'Established Faiths'

From time to time, the commission has frowned upon certain kinds of religious programming and has implicitly held that they were inferior to other kinds. This has been particularly true of the programming of small and unorthodox religious groups that buy time on a station and sometimes solicit funds in their broadcasts. In *Follett* v. *Town of McCormick* the Supreme Court held that the protection of the First Amendment was "not restricted to orthodox religious practices" and was "not merely reserved for those with a long purse"; it then proceeded to prohibit the city of McCormick, South Carolina, from requiring a Jehovah's Witness minister to secure a license in order to go from house to house and sell his religious tracts.

Despite such decisions, the commission has solemnly evaluated religious programming where the time was bought by a church and has implicitly—though never explicitly—found it to be inferior to religious programming for which no charge was made. For instance, in 1947 the commission considered eleven applications for FM facilities in Chicago. One of the applicants, Gene T. Dyer, was the licensee of radio station WAIT, whose programming was offered in evidence at the FM hearing. In deciding for ten of the applicants and against Dyer, the FCC pointed out that WAIT devoted practically all its Sunday time "to commercial religious programs and that no time has been set aside for the carrying of religious services on a sustaining basis from the churches of established faiths in the Chicago area."

On several occasions, the commission has upheld the right of stations to refuse to sell time to a church that otherwise would have no opportunity to broadcast its programs. One example of this occurred in 1949 when the New Jersey Council of Christian Churches and the Bible Presbyterian Church (two Pentecostal groups) filed a complaint against radio station WCAM in Camden. They had been unable to obtain any free or commercial time from the radio station. The FCC, in rejecting the complaint, stated: "While the Commission's Rules and Regulations do not forbid the sale of radio time for religious purposes, a decision by a licensee, who affords a reasonable amount of time for the broadcast of religious programs on a sustaining basis, that the sale of additional time for the broadcast of religious programs is inappropriate because of the subject matter, appears to be clearly within the area of discretion in which licensees are free to make decisions as to the operation of their stations."

More recently, the commission proposed to change its application forms so as to single out religious programs and require applicants to state whether such programs were carried on a free or a commercial basis. No comparable classifications would be required for any of the other thirteen programming categories—educational, agricultural, news, entertainment, etc.

Several religious faiths (Mormons, Catholics, Lutherans, and the Moody Bible Institute, for example) hold licenses for radio and television stations themselves. Their applications are given extraordinary scrutiny by the commission to make certain that religious programs for other faiths have been and will be carried by the stations. For instance, Loyola University of New Orleans, a Jesuit institution, was an applicant for a new television station in 1957. It was able to overcome its handicap of being a religious institution—and the charge that its radio station WWL had at one time refused to carry Protestant programs—only after convincing the FCC that the program schedule for its proposed television station would, in fact, reflect the religious needs of the community, i.e., broadcasts for all three dominant faiths.

In July of 1960, the FCC issued a policy statement that required owners seeking a new license or a renewal to ascertain the needs, tastes, and desires of the community and then to inform the commission how the station proposed to fulfill them. One of the suggested "needs" was, of course, religion. Now it is one thing for the commission to require a licensee to ascertain and implement the educational or agricultural needs of the community, since the words "education" and "agriculture" do not appear in any of the first ten amendments of the Constitution. But it is altogether another thing for the Federal government, through the FCC, to *require*, as a condition for licensing, that a person first ascertain and then fulfill the religious needs of his community. As Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark said in the majority opinion in the *Schempp* case, the "establishment clause" of the First Amendment requires the Federal government to "maintain strict neutrality, neither aiding nor opposing religion."

A Form of Coercion

Is the FCC's requirement that an applicant state the precise manner in which his station will serve the religious needs of the community a blow to the First Amendment's "establishment clause"? No commissioner has ever formally questioned, nor has any licensee had the temerity to challenge, the constitutionality of such inquiries. However, one commissioner, Lee Loevinger, at a meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters last spring, stated that he thought such inquiries were unconstitutional. "When the Constitution says that Congress shall make no law," Loevinger told the broadcasters during a question-and-answer session, "what it is saying is that the Federal government shall not act;

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the FCC is a branch of Congress and cannot do that which Congress cannot do. Congress cannot pass a law requiring you to broadcast religion as a condition of getting a Federal license; neither can the FCC. . . . There is a real Constitutional issue here. I don't think you can gloss it over or paper it over by talking about 'community needs'. . . ."

The FCC certainly cannot justify its position on the ground that the public is not required to listen to or view religious programs since the set can always be turned off. The Supreme Court dismissed in one sentence a comparable argument in the *Schempp* case in June, 1963. On that occasion, the State of Pennsylvania argued that, after all, public-school children did not have to participate in the school-conducted prayers since they could be excused from taking part in them if their parents so requested. "That fact," said Justice Clark, "furnishes no defense to a claim of unconstitutionality under the establishment clause" of the First Amendment.

It is quite clear that the mere existence of the question on the application compels the applicant to commit himself to foster the practice and growth of religion. Any doubt as to the impact of the question in the application was dispelled by the Reverend Charles Brackbill, Jr., of the Division of Radio and Television of the United Presbyterian Church, when he admitted at a hearing before the FCC last July that the commission's inquiry itself amounts to "coercion" on stations to carry religious programs. Yet each of the some four thousand radio and seven hundred television stations continues to reply to the commission's inquiry and solemnly swears to promote the "establishment of religion" in its daily programming.

What Is Religion?

In 1946 the commission received a complaint against three radio stations in the San Francisco area on the ground that although they carried various religious programs, they did not afford opportunity for "the broadcasting of talks on the subject of atheism." Though denying the complainant's request that the licenses of the stations be revoked, the FCC went on to point out that religious programming could be controversial and, therefore, as a general proposition, proponents of atheism also had a right to express their views on the stations.

But the basic issue is not whether atheists should or should not have an opportunity to answer men of the cloth, and in turn whether religious leaders have an opportunity to answer the nonbelievers. The fundamental question is whether the Federal government, as represented by the FCC, is prohibited from making *any* decision on the question. After all, the Supreme Court had specifically held in the *Everson* case in 1947 that the Federal government may not ". . . influence a person to go to or to remain away from church. . . ." And yet the Federal government at present certainly does require broadcasters to present "religious programs," which, according to the commission's most recent definition, include sermons, devotionals, and "music and drama when presented primarily for religious purposes." What is more, the FCC not only encourages and demands that religious programming be carried but, in effect, has actually taken unto itself the Olympian task of defining what constitutes "religion."

Last June the commission held a hearing in order to re-examine the programming portion of its radio application forms. The witnesses included representatives of the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church, and the National Council of the Churches of Christ, who appeared before the commission and argued that the forms be revised so as to encourage—if not force—stations to carry more religious programs. They also urged the commission to expand its definition of what constitutes a religious program. The National Council representative suggested, on behalf of the thirty-nine million persons whom he represented, that the FCC's definition of religion should "include sermons, devotionals, religious news, music, drama, commentary, spots and other programs when presented primarily for religious purposes. . . ." In a prior document filed with the FCC, the council stated that its Broadcasting and Film Commission had instituted studies "for the integration of plans for the use of the mass media in the program of the church, to appraise the church's present program for the use of the media, and to give strategic guidance on these problems." The council spokesman then went on to shatter whatever might be left of the "establishment clause" by observing that he was "of the view that this basic responsibility is one which should be shared" by the FCC!

WHEN the commission either voluntarily eliminates its requirement that stations engage in religious programming or is forced to do so by a court decision, the step probably will not have any substantial effect on the amount of religious programming broadcast by stations. It might even result in an increase of such programs. As a practical matter, it would be quite unusual for a manager of a radio or television station to turn a deaf ear to the requests of religious organizations for the use of his station. Most religious groups maintain very cordial relationships with stations.

Moreover, several religious groups that now find it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to secure time on radio and television stations might well meet with greater success in their efforts to get air time, on either a free or commercial basis. The very fact that the Federal government would no longer be promoting and analyzing the religious programming of stations would permit station managers to exercise a greater freedom of choice. Today a number of such minority faiths are precluded, in actual practice, from using radio and television because of the latent fear of the licensees that such minority religious programming would be frowned upon by the commission. Thus the members of these faiths do not, as a practical matter, enjoy the Constitutionally protected "free exercise" of their religious beliefs—at least, not to the extent of the participants in more popular religions—because the Federal government, through its licensing process, has in effect graded religions by the standards of what a few people have defined as "the public interest."

And this, of course, is something else that the First Amendment was designed to prevent.

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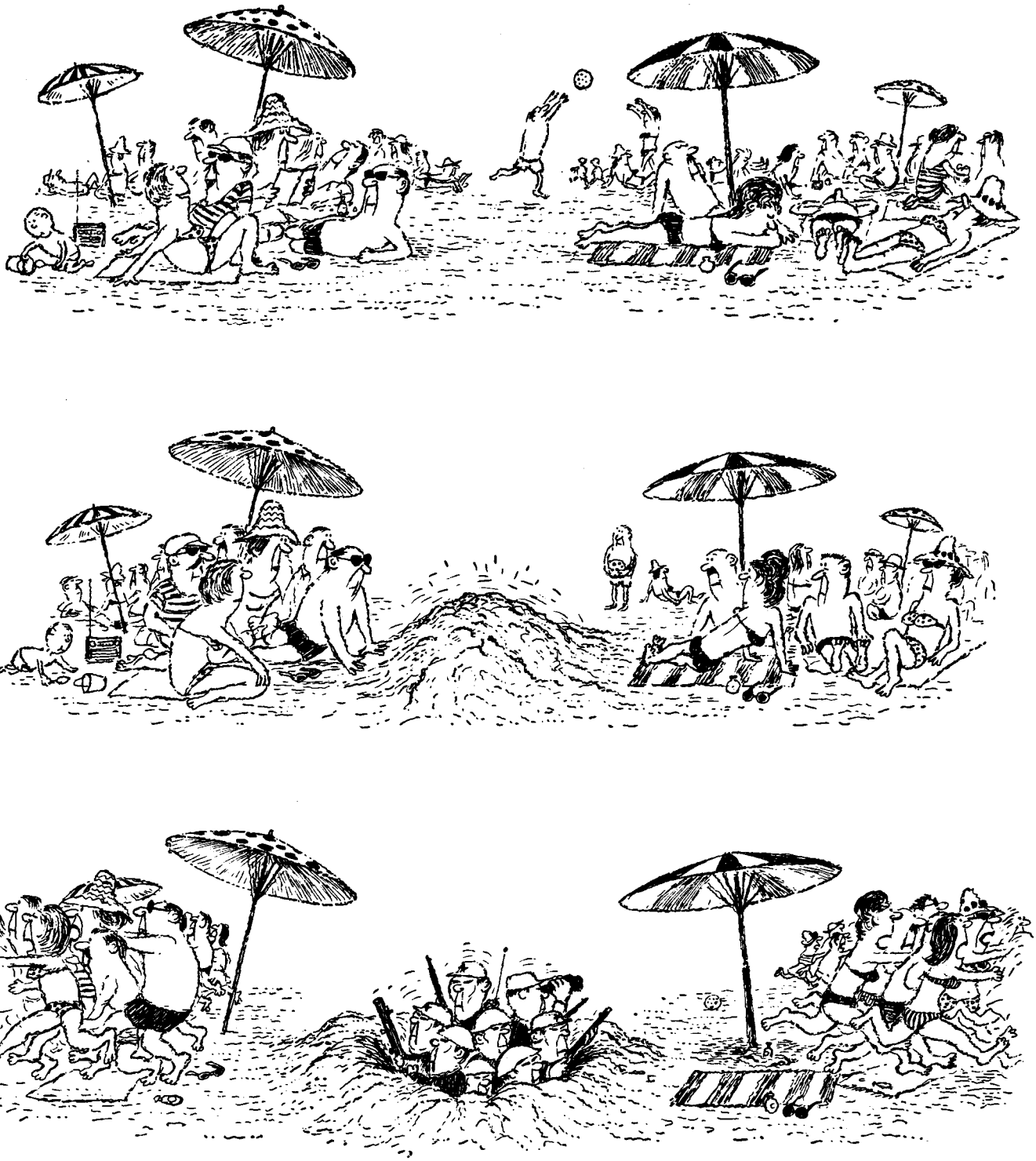

Season in the Sun

by Fernando Krahn

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The Romanesque Runaround

ALBERT C. SCHMIDT

EVER SINCE the war, and particularly with the explosion of *le tourisme* in the last decade, a new sport has flourished in France: Romanesque-hunting. Off in the provincial countryside and often far from any road, there are countless colorful monuments of that happy age in architecture before the engineering feats of Gothic came to be an end in themselves. For Frenchmen and foreigners, seeking out those earlier churches has become a favorite pastime, even a family affair. The Romanesque-hunter is assured of quiet valleys, sunny hilltops, solitude, fresh air, and an incomparable combination of landscape and art. He will find sculpture as remarkable for its modern, often abstract effects as for its variety and originality: saints and demons, angels and monsters share the stage in profuse fantasies of holiness and bawdiness. A favorite of mine is the mermaid in the church at Civaux who flaps her fins and brandishes her braids while her victim falls headfirst from a boat into the water with a look of mild astonishment on his face. Most of the churches, moreover, are still churches in every sense, except for the "big names" like Autun or Vézelay, where the museum atmosphere has slowly encroached.

The Romanesque style has become so popular that local patriots are increasingly eager to get into the act. A visitor to Reugny in the Touraine, for example, is greeted at the village outskirts by a sign advertising an eleventh-century church. This is a pure swindle: there is hardly a stone left to be seen of the original, the church having been completely rebuilt in modern times. The twelfth century can be just as tricky. If the church is genuine, it may turn out to be Gothic and hence a useless detour for the Romanesque-minded.

SOMETIMES the trap is an open door, invariably a temptation in the case of ancient towers. I walked unsuspecting, late one evening, into such a door at the base of the great campanile at Uzès, a small southern town just west of the Rhône, and squeezed my way up through the cobwebs in the dark stairwell hoping to reach the open arcades above. The reward at the top was spectacular. At close range, the tower took on hues of red and yellow ochre; a bright moon was beginning to play on the tower and the town below. When at last I groped back down to the bottom, I discovered to my horror that the door was locked. There was no hope that my voice could penetrate the massive masonry and thus no choice but to climb back up and start yelling.

The campanile is picturesquely situated on the edge of town, with no houses close by. It was some time before I attracted the attention of an old lady who happened along. Though hard of hearing herself, she enlisted an agile neighbor who disappeared to investigate and soon returned to say that a crew of workmen had the keys; one of the men had forgotten to lock the tower door, and had returned later to do so. He was probably now in a tavern in the town. More and more citizens gathered to discuss the matter while someone searched for the keeper of the key. It was quite some time before I ceased to be a *prisonnier de la tour.*

Soon after my release, an obliging innkeeper showed me to his last available room. He apologized that it was impossible to lock the room for the night, the previous tenants having run off with the key. "It takes a good month to get a key made in Uzès," he added.

One forms the habit of forestalling frustration by looking for keys ahead of time. This is to be recommended at Serrabone: the priory is impressively perched atop a deserted mountain in the eastern Pyrenees and the huge heavy key hangs in a roadside house at the bottom. A disappointing ascent is in store for those who do not arm themselves in advance. I have tried three times to get into the crypt of the church of Saint-Aignan at Orléans, without success, because the key is never where anyone thinks it is.

Then there is the danger of intruding unintentionally into an occupant's privacy. No Romanesque-hunter wants to miss the frescoes at Availles in the Department of Vienne, as they are fading fast and may soon disappear entirely. But the owner is not happy to have strangers in the church, which he seems to use mainly as a junk dump and storeroom for lumber. The fortified church at La Roque-sur-Cèze, in the Languedoc, is literally falling to pieces, as are the houses clustered on the same cliff above the village. It was on that apparently abandoned promontory that I jumped over a crumbling wall and suddenly found myself in the middle of a formal

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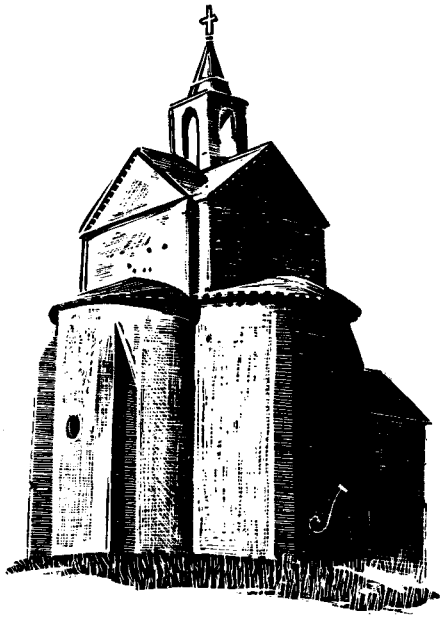
cocktail party. The host was kind enough to let me look around the ruins.

For real Romanesque hospitality, one should stick to the west. From Normandy on down, and particularly in the region of Poitou, a church watcher is liable to be invited by convivial parishioners to participate in those less exacting French pastimes, good wine and conversation, and if the pub is crowded there is no way out but to join in and hold one's own until everyone has ordered his round and had his say. By that time it is usually too dark for outdoor pursuit of the Romanesque.

The Châtellerault church of Saint-Romain is now inhabited by a couple and several of their eleven children, and they are understandably pleased with their lodgings. A bedroom, for instance, occupies a small apse, with windows framed by neatly trimmed curtains concealing a prize display of colonnettes and carved capitals. The kitchen looks more like a kitchen than a transept or choir; there one may partake of the hosts' generous potations while examining some of the medieval fragments they have picked up in the course of housecleaning.

No DEGREE of remoteness discourages the true Romanesque addict. In good weather, swarms of people trudge up and down the path to the Canigou monastery above Prades in the Pyrenees; the bizarre cathedral of Embrun, in the Hautes-Alpes, is almost as crowded on a hot summer day as are the lake shores close by. The precarious road through rocky ravines to Thines in the mountainous region of the Ardèche is more traveled now than ever before: at the end are spacious picnic spots and a many-colored Romanesque marvel. When maps and signs are of no avail, as in the case of the unmarked, uncharted road to Saint-Salvayre in the foothills of the Pyrenees where there is a church with a unique version of the Greek-cross plan, the only way to find a remote site is by asking around, taking care to avoid those self-appointed guides who can rattle off legends and lists of noblemen by the hour but never manage to get to the point of inquiry.

The real runaround begins when the time-conscious traveler starts looking for clues in the logical place —in old archaeological studies. As fast as those studies have been finished, they have been outdated by the ravages of war and weather, to say nothing of restorers and renovators who, seldom content to leave a beautiful ruin alone, have produced surrogates here and there that compare unfavorably, as works of art, with Louisiana tombstone architecture. The official last word in France, in matters of this sort, is the Monuments Historiques, an august agency that has not always been so fortunate as to have a Mérimée or a Malraux to oversee its ventures. One of the hallmarks of genuine Roman-



esque is its freshness and spontaneity; most of the radical restorations, particularly those done before the First World War, are stale, contrived, and unconvincing.

Even the most recent scholarly surveys are not always helpful. One archive-scented piece of postwar research has relegated the Basse-Oeuvre at Beauvais to the realm of history, whereas that gem of early Romanesque, less than an hour's drive from Paris, comes off better than ever by contrast with the new buildings all around. By surviving the bombardments that gutted the old town, so that discreet restoration has sufficed to give it new life, the Basse-Oeuvre not only bears witness to the soundness of pre-Gothic stonework but also continues to point up the moral of the overweening cathedral in the background: the spireless hulk is as explicit a monument to man's vainglory as was the recent wreckage of the city. (The architect tried to build the highest tower in Christendom; it collapsed.)

At the other end of the country, in the southwest where the Médoc Peninsula peters out into the ocean in a perennially shifting profile, *la cathédrale engloutie* is a reality. For long years the Benedictine priory church at Soulac-sur-Mer, appropriately dedicated to Our Lady of the Land's End, was swallowed up by the sands, its ruined tower peeking out like a tombstone. There were times, they say, when the whole thing was so far sunk as to be indistinguishable from the dunes along the shore. Then, just a hundred years ago, nature's work of exhumation began; it has gone on in effect ever since, so that now the complete church, framed between its pipelined embankments, is there for all to see.

To SEE or not to see becomes the question toward evening, when even the most cautious Romanesque-hunter cannot always avoid a runaround in the matter of shelter. Hostelry in France is abundant but has not everywhere kept pace with the demand for beds. "Try the next locality," is the usual suggestion. Who would expect the little towns around Montoire-sur-le-Loir near Blais to be crowded to overflowing, with everyone bound for the frescoed chapel before supper? Or the larger town of Vendôme further on? But I was told after fruitless hunting in that area one night that the nearest vacancies were in Paris. When I finally found a chilly two-by-four refutation, there was nothing left to eat but string beans for supper and stale Camembert for breakfast.

Latecomers to the famous landmarks, particularly if there is an added gastronomic pull as at Saulieu with its two-star restaurant, are liable to end up under the eaves of an inn like superfluous modillions under a battered Romanesque cornice. There is no renowned restaurant at Conques, in the Aveyron Department, but the fact that that most perfect of all Romanesque hideouts is difficult to get to does not discourage the devotees, as I recalled from an

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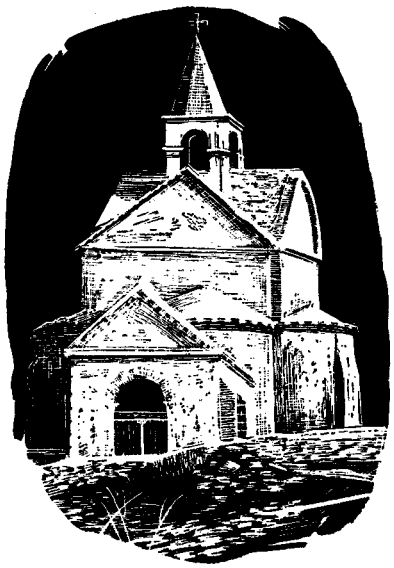
earlier trip. So my wife and I planned to reach the departmental capital of Rodez, a safe distance from Conques, by nightfall: there, of all places, there would be no problem about rooms. Nor would there have been, had not our arrival coincided with the eve of the state examinations for the Aveyron. Every student in the department was in town, and the crowds overflowed into the barns and garages. One had only to walk into a place with suitcase in hand to see the landlady's mouth get ready to frame the big *NON*. There seemed to be nothing to do but spend a cold night in the car or else give up the idea of a Conques excursion and drive on to a larger town, so we went into a café to fortify ourselves first.

The café was full, but just on the chance I asked the patron whether he had not a spare room to rent for the night. "Only one, and it's full —three students."

"Could you suggest any place outside of town?" I persisted.

"Just a minute." He went to the telephone and returned after a spell. "I just called a friend of mine who runs an inn in Conques. They'll find you a room. But I don't suppose you're interested in going all the way to Conques?"

Bedding down at the Cistercian abbey—former abbey, to be sure—of Escaladieu, on the other hand, is no problem at all either for passengers or for their car. The abbey church, not too far from Lourdes, is now the garage of the hotel, and each nave bay accommodates, comfortably, two automobiles.



BOOKS

Simenon's Mosaic

JAY JACOBS

FIVE TIMES MAIGRET: A FIVE-NOVEL OMNIBUS, by Georges Simenon. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $5.95.*

THE MAN WHO WATCHED THE TRAINS GO BY, by Georges Simenon. *Penguin. $0.65.*

THE BLUE ROOM and THE ACCOMPLICES, by Georges Simenon. *Harcourt. $4.95.*

Originally, Simenon appears to have been about as trashy a novelist as any ever enjoyed by a serving-maid from the provinces. And this is what I considered him awhile back. In his early years, he banged out as many as eighty pages a night under a variety of pseudonyms (ranging from Georges Sim to Gom Gut) and a flood of books that included such provocative titles as *Captain S.O.S., Le Sang des Gitanes, Le Gorille Roi, Hélas, Je T'aime!,* and *Les Pirates du Texas.* But his youthful indiscretions and a good many later potboilers notwithstanding, Simenon is essentially a fine novelist. He has been taken with the utmost seriousness by a number of literary mandarins in Europe—notably by Gide, whose copies of Simenon's books were so heavily annotated that they were, in Simenon's words, "almost more Gide than Simenon." (If there is still a tendency to patronize Simenon in this country, it is at least partly because many of his novels *look* like trash when they get here; some of his later titles are hardly less lurid in "translation" than the early ones I have mentioned, and many of his translators are in desperate need of vocational guidance.)

The exigencies of Simenon's early working schedule were of incalculable value in developing an almost telegraphic brevity, a narrative pace of extreme rapidity, and a clean, stripped-down style. He published his first book—written in ten days —at seventeen, and for some time afterwards was under contract to write a novel a month, plus a short story each week. Working at that rate, though sacrificing none of the perquisites of the young man about town, he had no time for nonessential description, convoluted syntax, or ornamental turns of phrase.

FROM THE START, Simenon regarded his hackwork as a lucrative apprenticeship. The ultimate aim was always the serious novel, and around the end of the 1920's he worked tentatively in that direction. Inspector Maigret made his first appearances in 1931 (*Maigret Stonewalled* and *Maigret and the Hundred Gibbets,* both recently reissued by Penguin); and while his debut was auspicious mostly in retrospect, one casual assertion—"I shall know the murderer when I know the victim well"—marked what was to become a revolutionary departure from the prevailing concepts of detective fiction. The devious plot, the bizarre twist, the fortuitous clue were to have little place in the Maigret books. (Simenon's disdain for these devices has been known, in fact, to backfire on the rare occasions when he has used them: in one case he committed the *gaffe* of allowing a respected art forger to sign a canvas "Van Gogh"; the authentic signature was always "Vincent.") Instead, while his colleagues busy themselves to little purpose with fingerprints, ballistics, and chemical analyses, Maigret bibs the local *blanc,* gossips with concierges and *garçons du café,* observes the state of the weather, or languidly looks on at a game of *belote.* His "clues" are a gradually developing awareness of the pressures, exerted by a particular ambience, that drive an ordinary human being like himself to an extraordinary act.

The early Maigret books were conceived as a bridge between the cheap popular romances, written "*pour gagner ma vie,*" and the serious efforts for which he did not yet consider himself ready. In *Maigret's Memoirs,* an ingenious apologia written some twenty years after the first Maigret volumes, the roles of author and protagonist ostensibly are reversed, and the detective "recalls" an

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exchange in which the young Simenon is described as thinking this time not of a popular series but of what he calls . . . what do you call it, Monsieu Sim?" "Semi-literature," Simenon answers.

The Maigret books were an immediate popular success in Europe and Britain. Moreover, they are so novelistic in their treatment and so far removed, both in degree and kind, from the mindless jigsaw-puzzle escapism of most whodunits that they have attracted a devoted and highly literate group of readers to whom the "detective story" ordinarily is anathema. In the best of the Maigrets, *A Battle of Nerves*, for example, the offender is not simply motivated, but driven, as relentlessly as a Raskolnikov, and what ensues is not a chase so much as a dialogue held on common ground.

In a discussion of his more serious efforts (*Writers at Work*, a series of interviews from the *Paris Review* published by Viking), Simenon remarks: ". . . I try to make each one of those characters heavy, like a statue, and to be the brother of everybody in the world." And while he denies the possibility of achieving "the weight that a stroke of Cézanne's gave to an apple" in the Maigret novels, weight—or presence, if you will—*is* there. And, given the limitations of the form, Maigret himself is something very like a brother to everyone in the world, including his adversaries. As the detective himself puts it in his *Memoirs*:

> When I consider this subject, the thing that strikes me most is the bond that is formed between the policeman and the quarry he has to track down. Above all, except in a few exceptional cases, the policeman is entirely devoid of hatred or even of ill will. . . .
>
> There is something between us, which Simenon has tried to convey without success, and that is, paradoxical as it may seem, a kind of family feeling.

In most of the Maigret books, the conventional good-guy-bad-guy alignment is replaced by a colloquy that often ends not with triumph and defeat but with mutual relief, leaving Maigret somewhat wistful and the transgressor in a state of near-exaltation. The judicial processes to follow can only be anticlimactic. Indeed, in the one novel in which a case is taken beyond Maigret's authority (*Maigret in Court*), Simenon is quite explicit about the irrelevancy of anything that occurs once the dialogue is ended:

> They [Maigret and the defendant] had spent long hours together, the two of them, in the overheated office at the Quai des Orfèvres, and they had sometimes broken off the interrogation to eat sandwiches and drink some beer, chatting like old friends.
>
> "Listen, Meurant . . ."
>
> Perhaps Maigret had occasionally used *"tu"* to him?
>
> Here [in court], an insurmountable barrier separated them and Gaston Meurant's look was as noncommittal as the chief inspector's.

In one of his rare prefaces (to *No Vacation for Maigret*), Simenon wrote in 1953: "When, twenty-four years ago . . . I created Inspector Maigret, I certainly did not foresee that he would one day acquire, so to speak, a life of his own that would even, at times, overshadow

mine." In spite of the affection the author goes on to profess for his character (an affection somewhat grudgingly returned in the *Memoirs*), a curious sort of rivalry, almost like that between a ventriloquist and his puppet, is evident in their relationship. In the *Writers at Work* interview, for example, Simenon dismisses the Maigret novels from serious consideration, saying: "Maigret can't go inside a character. He will see, explain, and understand; but he does not give the character the weight the character should have in another of my novels."

Maigret's much-misunderstood "methods," however, are nothing but a novelist's attempt to give "weight" to the character he is describing. Essentially, Maigret is no policeman at all, but the author-reader of his own novels, who must flesh out his characters before he can possibly apprehend them. In court, where impersonal documentation is the only admissible evidence, Maigret gives way to "a kind of despondency:"

> . . . he knew he was giving a lifeless, sketchy semblance of the reality. Everything he had just said was true, but he had not been able to convey the weight of things, their density, their tiniest stirrings, the smell of them.
>
> It seemed indispensable, for example, that those who were about to sit in judgment on Gaston Meurant should be made to perceive the atmosphere of the Boulevard de Charonne flat as it was when he had first found it.

The methods of Maigret, in other words, are the methods of Conrad (whose influence on the "serious" novels is apparent): "My task is . . . to make you hear, to make you feel —it is, before all, to make you *see*."

Stylistically, the difference between Simenon's "commercial" and "serious" novels is almost nonexistent. In both we get the same crisp sentences, the same staccato paragraphing, the same laconic dialogue that is so much more than the sum of its parts, the same palpable atmosphere suggesting that a man's fate may depend on the vagaries of climate, the same marvelously evocative description, the same irreversible chain of events. "The big difference," Simenon has said, "would be in the concessions. In writing for any commercial purpose you always have to make concessions." In the serious novels, nothing is ever conceded: "I have such a man, such a woman, in such surroundings. What can happen to them to oblige them to go to their limits?"

In the process of driving his characters to their limit, Simenon approaches the limits of his own physical and emotional endurance. He works like an athlete or a racehorse. Each book is preceded by a physical checkup, then written in eleven days flat. Any interruption during the critical period results in the junking of the book. ("I live just like a monk.

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All the day I am one of my characters. I feel what he feels . . . . it's almost unbearable after five or six days. That is one of the reasons my novels are so short. . . .") Usually another physical checkup follows.

THE single deviation from this routine was the closely autobiographical *Pedigree*, which was written in even more improbable circumstances. In 1941, on the basis of "an inaccurate X-ray," Simenon was told he had only only two years to live. He began to record his memories of childhood in the form of a long letter to his small son. Gide saw the first hundred pages and advised him to turn it into a novel. Simenon then conceived a trilogy that would carry his protagonist, Roger Mamelin, through childhood, adolescence, and his "aprenticeship in . . . the business of being a man." Apparently no concessions were made, and publication of the first volume resulted in a storm of litigation. The project was abandoned.

Although *Pedigree* is four times as long as the average Simenon, it is necessarily an incomplete novel. Nevertheless, it succeeds in re-creating a world (the Liège of the *petite bourgeoisie*, from the turn of the century to the Armistice of 1918) that is as fully realized as Bloom's Dublin or Prince Genji's court.

Liège is the author's native city and a relatively easy mark. But the astonishing thing about Simenon is his ability to put the reader, with what appears a minimal effort and a vocabulary almost restricted to the noun and the verb, into any locale he chooses to write about. There are no "poetic" passages in his novels; as one critic put it, he employs "the same sort of phrasing that we use to describe a normal day at the office." His concern is not with "the Oscar Wilde kind" of poetry, but a third-dimensional "poetic aura" exemplified by Gogol, created as a sculptor might create a poetry of negative space by the judicious disposition of concrete forms. His evocations of the rotten-ripeness of Tahiti (*Banana Tourist*) and French Equatorial Africa (*Tropic Moon*), the frenetic ennui of the Côte d'Azur and the bottomless misery of a Warsaw flophouse (*Blind Path*), a Dutch town strangulated by its own social conventions (*The Man Who Watched the Trains Go By*), the meanness of a village in Normandy (*Black Rain*) —even the Valley of the Shadow itself (*The Bells of Bicêtre*)—put together as matter-of-factly as good carpentry, seem far more durable than those of the most highly touted descriptive writers.

If Simenon's serious works have not been taken seriously enough by the general public, one reason must be that so many of them revolve around acts of violence—a circumstance that in no way diminishes the stature of a Shakespeare or a Dostoevski but is bound to work against a writer whose first reputation was built on the *roman policier*. For Simenon, violence provides the most direct access to several themes he regularly turns to in his novels. One of these is the irrevocable act whereby a man cuts himself off completely from everything his life has been (*Blind Path, The Man Who Watched the Trains Go By*). A second is the condition summarized in another connection by Simone de Beauvoir: "A guilty man is, first of all, a man accused" (*Mr. Hire's Engagement, The Blue Room*). Another is the impossibility of human communication: in *The Accomplices*, an almost wordless dalliance between an executive and his secretary leads to a horrifying accident in which a bus filled with children crashes and burns. The tragedy is never mentioned by either in the presence of the other. The man seeks response in the woman's flesh, fails to find it, and kills himself after first writing, then destroying, the single line "I am not guilty."

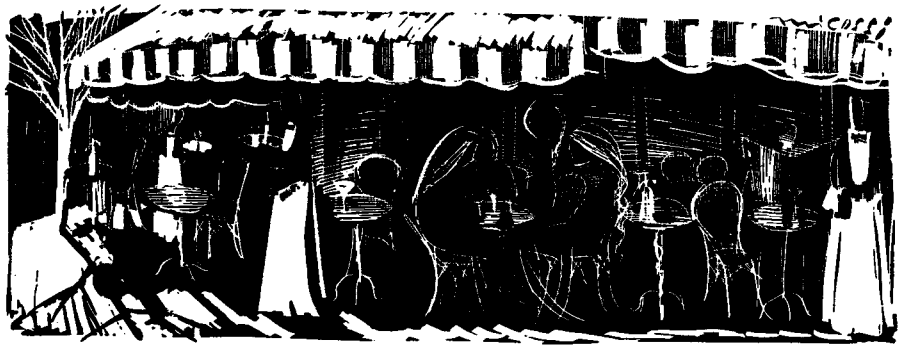
IN EXPLORING these themes, Simenon makes no judgments. The reader is the judge, and it is "indispensable . . . that those who . . . sit in judgment . . . should be made to perceive." At the end of the *Writers at Work* interview, Simenon says: "I have a very, very strong will about my writing, and I will go my way. For instance, all the critics for twenty years have said the same thing: 'It is time for Simenon to give us a big novel, a novel with twenty or thirty characters.' They do not understand. I will never write a big novel. My big novel is the mosaic of all my small novels."

If there is a dominant, unifying idea in Simenon's "big novel," it seems to be that what we are pleased to call society is merely an agglomeration of actively or potentially antisocial forces. The chips in the mosaic are murderers, suicides, fugitives, anarchists, voyeurs, drunkards, thieves, adulterers, misers and wastrels; and those who are nominally within society simply have succeeded in concealing similar propensities from their fellows or themselves—have not yet been obliged to go to their limit. Even in the basic social unit, the family, the cohesives are usually apathy, self-esteem, avarice, or mutual hatred.

And yet there is no savagery in the presentation, only a deep dry-eyed compassion. Inspector Maigret speaks for Simenon as well as himself when he says:

> [We are] entirely devoid of hatred or even ill-will.
>
> Devoid of pity, too, in the usual sense of the word.
>
> Our relations, so to speak, are strictly professional.
>
> We have seen too much . . . to be shocked any longer by certain forms of wretchedness or depravity. So that the latter does not arouse our indignation, nor does the former cause us that distress felt by the inexperienced spectator.

It is at this point that he mentions "a kind of family feeling."



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Of Lenses And Literature

HANS KONINGSBERGER

FAULKNER'S COUNTY: YOKNAPATAWPHA, by Martin J. Dain. *Random House. $15.*

THE MOVEMENT: DOCUMENTARY OF A STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY. Text by Lorraine Hansberry. *Simon and Schuster. $4.95; paperback $1.95.*

IMAGES OF WAR. by Robert Capa. *Grossman. $15.*

Only the devoted Faulkner buff is apt to be moved by pictures of Faulkner's uncle's office or his great-grandfather's enemy's tombstone. Such memorabilia are in the minority, though, in *Faulkner's County*; basically, the book is a visualization of a geographic and literary unity (Lafayette County, Mississippi) where most of Faulkner's writing was set. This is a neat and appealing idea, but somehow the project has missed fire. Part of the trouble lies in the caption method: quotations from Faulkner's novels. Four not especially distinguished pictures of men making sorghum molasses do not gain much from these words, in large italics: " . . . then it would be the sharp, subtle exciting odor of fermentation and of boiling molasses"; and looking this up in the index to discover that it is a quote from *Sartoris* still does not seem to add fascination.

And what are we to do with the text under a picture of a Negro shack that reads in part: " . . . and withal a fond and unflagging tolerance for whitefolks' vagaries like that of a grandparent for unpredictable and troublesome children . . ."? To my mind, the picture and those words from *The Sound and the Fury* do not add anything to each other; they diminish, rather, indicating that many pitfalls await anyone who would use quotations out of context in this way.

One may find in Faulkner an

please— let him know you care

TRAN NGOC KHANH, VIETNAMESE, AGE 8½. Walks with difficulty. Polio. Three other children in family. Youngest, 2 years, also polio victim. Father TB. Cannot work. Mother earns $20.59 per month. Family undernourished. Live in hut. Two beds. Must now sell hut to pay medical bills. Khanh good student. Wants to be doctor. Parents look with despair on children they cannot help. Need acute. Help to Khanh means help to whole family.

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awareness of the cruelty and inhumanity of the South combined with a feeling for its richness of human relationships and personality; this almost physically painful ambiguity is missing in Mr. Dain's book. The final problem, I think, is that the pictures themselves are of limited power. Dain can be a fine photographer and has apparently been a devoted one; a picture of Oxford, Mississippi, for instance, conjures up the true nostalgia of a small Southern town one early December evening. But it is one of the few memorable separate images in this book. The fact that all of the subjects have been written about or might have been written about by Faulkner is just not enough to lend these pictures magic.

It is a great distance from this world (where we are cutely informed that the Negro child in one picture was crying because he was afraid of the white photographer) to *The Movement*. Prepared in cooperation with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, *The Movement* contains any number of striking pictures by some twenty photographers (the large majority by Danny Lyon); they are a pleasure to study. But this is only part of the story. The first pages set a rhythm of intense emotion: starting with a picture of a highway leading into the Mississippi Delta, from there, on pages 2 and 3, to: "In the countryside, between the towns, familiar images of the Old South are conjured up . . ." (we are shown antebellum ruins), and then on page 4, this placid sentence ends like a sickening blow with ". . . all of them," accompanying a photograph of a lynching. This pitch is maintained throughout the book, and it is, surprisingly, not a pitch of horror but one of hope.

The modern obsessive interest in the Graven Image, which is wellnigh obliterating the Word, may lead to a host of legitimate reservations about photo journalism, but if *The Movement* is photo journalism, it is of a quality that makes it art, too. It is no neutral documentation, assuming that such a thing as neutrality were possible in the Delta, but as propaganda it pleads a noble case nobly. Its cumulative effect is to make one, suddenly, see beauty where one had expected to find suffering and bitterness only; to make one understand the statement, mysterious-sounding to newspaper readers up North, of civil-rights workers who came back last fall from Mississippi proclaiming the project there "the happiest-making work they had ever done."

Robert Capa's *Images of War* is a thing of its own. It documents the greater inhumanity of man against man, war. The book leads to Spain, to China, to the Second World War, to Israel, and ends, like the man whom it commemorates, in a rice field in Vietnam. A war photographer needs a certain detachment in order to function, but Capa shows *in his work* that he did not stop at registering the workings of the deadly war machine. His point of view, in the precise meaning of those words, shows his involvement on the side of the angels, which, in all these countries, was the side on whom war was forced. He was a remarkable war photographer because, no matter how much he may have mused about it before and after (as the quotations from Capa suggest), he was a very brave man. He documented every meaningful battle of his time, and I do not doubt that, alive, he would have spent the past summer near the fields and jails of Mississippi.

I have said next to nothing about the physical aspects of these books and the quality of their reproductions. This may annoy the photographers who rightly insist that their work, no matter what the subject, should also be judged *in abstracto* as art, and for whom the printing process is often a matter of life and death. Without stepping into the quagmire of photographic aesthetics, let me simply say that *The Movement*—produced at a very low price for a large market—has overcome that handicap quite decently. *Faulkner's County*, selling within the usual price range for photo books, was well produced (although not notably well) in the United States. Capa was done in Europe (which still gives an advantage today in reproduction) and its quality is superb. But the fact that I have not dwelled on this aspect is a final tribute to the photographers and publishers who did not produce Beautiful Books to leaf through but political and human documents of importance.

Twenty-Six Israeli Artists

ALFRED WERNER

Preconceptions die hard. In Mexican galleries tourists still expect to find only variations on pigtails and sombreros, battle scenes and revolutionary anecdotes. By the same token, most New Yorkers who have been visiting the Jewish Museum to see "Art Israel: 26 Painters and Sculptors" (the show was brought over by the America-Israel Foundation and the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art and will tour the United States and Canada for two years) expected to find again what Zionist organizations and galleries had been offering for many years: pictures in the Impressionist idiom or, at most, in a mildly Expressionist language of water towers punctuating agricultural settlements, shepherd-flutists, hora dancers, and above all, landscapes abounding in olive groves. Of course, anyone can still find in Israel such pictures especially made for the tourist trade and also, on a much higher aesthetic level, representational art produced by skilled and sensitive men and women in yesterday's plastic vocabulary.

When Dr. William C. Seitz, a curator of New York's Museum of Modern Art, accepted the invitation to explore art in Israel, he sought out instead the work of the young avant-garde and whatever seemed fresh and

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THE REPORTER

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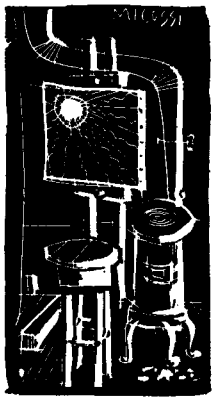
vigorous. The show he selected in Israel and in France from the work of young Israeli artists who have settled on the Left Bank is remarkable in many respects, particularly because it brings works by Israel sculptors. However the Second Commandment may be interpreted by orthodox Jews, sculptors like Jacob Epstein and Jacques Lipchitz have emerged from the Jewish group. And Israeli sculpture—totally different in approach from the work of these celebrated men—is now at last seen in the Western Hemisphere.

On a somewhat smaller scale this show had a preview, in the spring and summer, in four Israeli cities and met with a storm of criticism. Israel has an estimated two thousand artists; yet only a little over one per cent had been considered worth showing in what the neglected ninety-nine per cent referred to as "Seitz's folly." Artists everywhere are touchy, and it is not astonishing that some whom Seitz had spurned were ready to rush to the Bezalel National Museum in Jersualem and create a hullabaloo at the opening. A demonstration was averted, but the country's official artists' association, arguing that too much emphasis had been placed on certain aspects of abstract art, succeeded, at the very last minute, in having the show's title changed from "Art Israel 1964" to the more modest "23 Israel Artists." That Prime Minister Levi Eshkol obviously sided with the man in the street (and in the agricultural kibbutz) in considering some of the offerings crazy could be gathered from a remark in his opening speech: "Fortunately we are not a country in which the Prime Minister thinks he must be an expert on all subjects."

In all previous group shows every aesthetic creed had been represented to achieve a kind of democratic compromise, even as do the political parties gathered in the Knesset. And quite a few of the more shocking objects had never before been exhibited in Israel—they had seen the light of day in the Sixth Arrondissement. However, to the festive and sophisticated crowd in the remodeled Manhattan mansion at Fifth Avenue and Ninety-second Street, the objects on display appeared rather unsensational, even tame.

My first impression was that the show affirmed only what had been demonstrated so vividly a little earlier by the global Carnegie International: that in the visual arts, nationalism is an anachronism. Astonishingly, though, to judge by their statements in the catalogue, many of the participants in "Art Israel" do profess fervently nationalist feelings. The painter David Lan-Bar, for instance (whose address is the Rue Linné), describes his work as Jewish, though one cannot, by any feat of imagination, find any connection between his interweaving of little patches of lush pigment and the racial or religious characteristics of Abraham's descendants. "The physical fact of Israel is



the very source of my inspiration," the painter Yeheskiel Streichman declares. This is understandable—many of the "abstract" pictures in the show appear to be influenced by Israel's rock formations and other surfaces. But then he adds, almost aggressively: "I am a Zionist painter." This is odd coming from a man whose abstract work has no apparent link with a political ideology and who mentions as his favorites not the genre sculptor Boris Schatz, who was the first Zionist artist to settle in Palestine when it was still a backward Turkish province, nor the Art Nouveau designer E. M. Lilien, a well-known figure at early Zionist gatherings, but Tiepolo, Fragonard, and the Monet of "The Water Lilies."

Thirty years from now, if completely nonfigurative art is here to stay, mankind's eyes will, perhaps, have become trained to distinguish paintings and sculptures according to certain national idioms and idiosyncrasies. At present, our only clues are supplied by subject matter, title, and biographical information. Moshe Castel, who is one of the eight Sabras, or native Israelis, represented here, has no statement of his own in the catalogue, but I know from private conversations with him that he believes strongly in the possibility and desirability of an Israeli art based on artistic achievements of the Jewish and Middle Eastern past. On his panels, covered with pulverized basalt mixed in oil, the invented calligraphy has some slight affinity with modern Hebrew script.

Mordecai Ardon, one of the three participants born before 1900, is the only one of Seitz's choices who not only asserts his strong links with Judaism verbally but also demonstrates it clearly in his work. "Missa Dura," a triptych (about 110 square feet!) that dominates the show, contains several graphic reminders of dire events in recent Jewish history, for instance bits torn from a Hebrew Bible, a tiny medieval crusader with the grim face of Hitler, the serial number of a concentration-camp inmate. The title of the central panel, "Kristallnacht," refers to the German pogroms of November, 1938, when mobs broke all the windows in Jewish-owned shops and the streets were littered with glass splinters. This alternately lucid and enigmatic yet altogether unforgettable work is indebted to Ardon's Bauhaus teacher, Paul Klee. Ardon himself was in turn the teacher of Arikha, Bezem, and Tamir, who are also in the show.

While Avigdor Arikha's dark, loosely painted fantasies are purely abstract, the works of Naphtali Bezem and to a lesser degree Moshe Tamir contain recognizable symbols. In Bezem's "The Common Grave" a sad lion that might have been painted by a Polish-Jewish folk artist two hundred years ago stares over a muddy plot of earth, suggesting the grave of slaughtered innocents. Tamir calls "Lot's Wife," in the center of which is a Janus-faced spiky figure, "a condemnation of those who go on living in the past." The human forms in the hard-edge paintings of Michael Gross are barely recognizable, though the artist insists that his work is figurative. And certain sheeplike de-

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 117

by HENRY ALLEN

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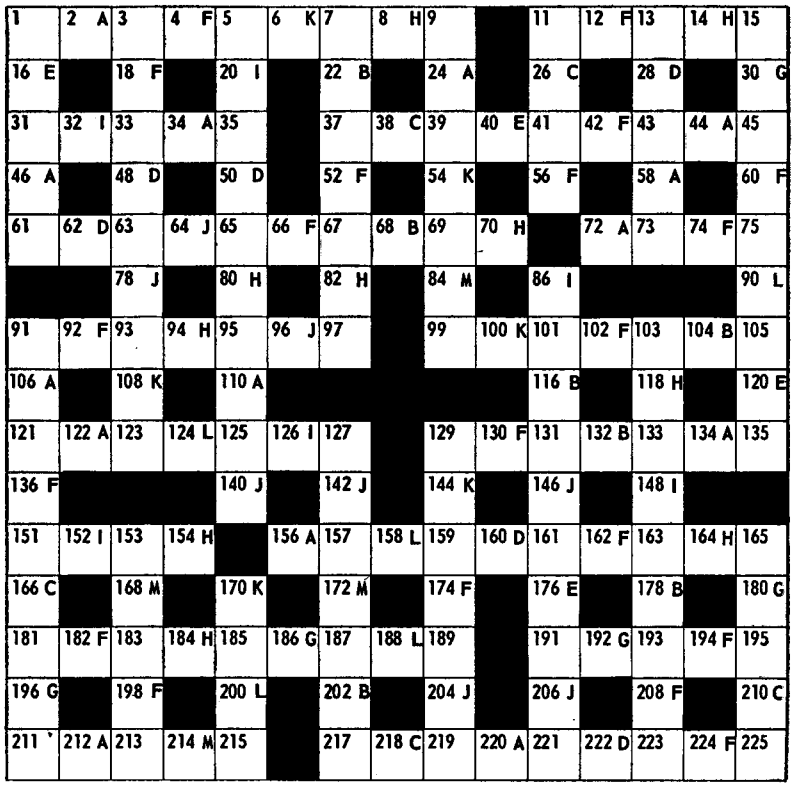
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
212 44 24 46 106 58 110 2 72 134 156 34

122 220 Position once held by the Acrostician (not an official title) (5,5,4).

B
22 68 116 132 104 202 178 "May is a pious fraud of the_____." J. R. Lowell, "Under the Willows."

C
166 38 26 210 218 "Religio_____." Poem by Dryden.

D
48 28 160 222 50 62 Site of a treaty between Napoleon, Russia, and Prussia (1807).

E
176 40 16 120 A modern sword, descendant of the rapier.

F
136 194 182 208 52 18 60 12 130 74 4 92

102 224 162 174 66 42 56 198 What Allen Funt may find in the dark room (10,6,4).

G
180 30 192 186 196 "He is a great master gibes and flouts and_____." Disraeli, referring to the Marquis of Salisbury.

H
8 14 184 154 70 164 82 118 80 94 Part of a proverbial prescription for health, etc. (5,2,3).

I
20 126 32 86 152 148 A pastelike confection containing nuts.

J
146 96 78 204 140 206 142 64 A waterfall in central British Guiana, about 760 feet high.

K
100 6 54 170 144 108 Pierce through.

L
90 124 188 158 200 The relationship of Princess Anne to Princess Margaret.

M
214 84 168 172 Vend, trade.

ACROSS

1. Did the bum succeed? Not 'e! He gave out.
11. Eastern book No Rank might produce.
31. He may be in or under the teacher's eye.
37. Portable illumination, not heavy.
61. Utter foolishness, but not aloud (5,5).
72. Eye trouble? Yes. Tea will help.
91. See 13 down.
99. The nomad I'd trust with a girl's best friend.
121. Change a thousand to a shilling in 99 across and find a writer.
129. A lubricator may be an opprobrious term.
151. Chinese money of late.
156. Go faster—how much comes last.
181. A bush of the guarantee that goes with it?
191. Mountain that blew its top in Guadeloupe, Leeward Islands.
211. Kind of cottage or cheese.
217. Jockeys ready, or didn't they make their bid? (6,3).

DOWN

1. Can Irish clans be pests?
3. Led a pained cat.
5. Quite unusual to find Mike unlost (6,4).
7. All in a favor? For a gas bag.
9. Faint, urged, and indented.
11. Mortify the ilk of fifty.
13. With 91 across, what the Acrostician once was to the President (5,4,3).
15. Kind of ship or how the barrier may be after a fast tennis match? (3,6).
86. Plucky jailer or the man in the hunt?
91. This kind of man can't beat it!
103. Do you want to steal cobs? There are barriers in the way.
127. Pertaining to the part of the atom that's unclear.
129. Followed the reapers to the ledge. An honest effort.
153. Tropical resin to make me lie.
165. Toss out, etc. The French, I say.
170. The sage matures.

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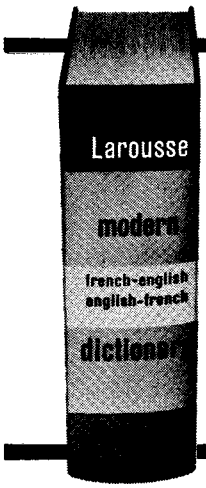

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tails of the lumps of bronze on stilt-like legs suggest the title given by the sculptor Itzhak Danziger to his work "The Lord Is My Shepherd."

More interesting, in a way, are the pure abstractions. There, the seventy-three-year-old Yosef Zaritsky enchants us with the lyrical loveliness of his work. One would like to see a retrospective to show this unusual man's development from the academic realism hammered into him by his teacher in Czarist Russia to the soft flowing rhythms of his newest creations. Walking through the show, one felt otherwise like exclaiming, "This is Sam Francis," "This is Philip Guston," "That is Richard Stankiewicz," while realizing that what these Israelis were offering was, of course, not any conscious plagiarization of post-World War II American art. Nearly everywhere in the world, artists squeeze whorls of pigment straight out of the tube onto the canvas. Nearly everywhere, sculptors make use of machine parts to link themselves dramatically with inescapable civilization. In nearly every sculptor's studio, welded iron replaces marble or wood.

I do not consider Yigael Tumarkin's anguish-filled "Hiroshima" less important because he is not the first to use a combination of industrial objects with polyvinyl chloride in a heroic effort to give meaning to a theme that, it seems, cannot be approached with conventional materials. For that matter, I am pleased to see that the septuagenarian Anna Ticho (one of the two women in the show), still in love with Jerusalem, its mountains and trees, keeps on drawing in charcoal or pen with a deft skill that would have delighted Albrecht Dürer.

In general, it might be said that in every "modern" country in the past two decades there has been too much experimentation for the sake of experimentation. This goes for Israel, too. I was rather insulted by Yaakov Agam's "Modifiable Rhythm," short white wooden rods loosely inserted on a black surface for the spectator to rearrange at his will, and by the same innovator's "Natural Movements," white painted metal disks aquiver on springs attached in irregular rows to black painted board; I was supposed to be thrilled, like a child, when they reverberated as I touched them. Childish is the word for Raffi Lavie's pencil doodles upon oil: spontaneity and lack of inhibition are not sufficient to produce a picture that moves the beholder. Aïka (who recently was killed in a automobile accident at the age of twenty-nine) found his materials in garbage cans. He stuck parts of discarded dolls into holes pierced into painted sackcloth: "I breathed into these objects my life's breath, conferring on them eternity." Alas, this assemblage is likely to return to its original setting. Less sensational but more poetic are Yehiel Shemi's sculptures, made from sheets of metal and inspired, it seems, by plant forms, or Shamai Haber's combinations of unhewn stones, reminiscent of Japanese garden art, perhaps, or of Stonehenge.

In the last ten or twelve years, the Israeli artists have it would seem been trying to catch up with Paris, New York, and San Francisco in a mad rush, not to be left behind. They do not seem to care for crushed automobiles (one, by John Chamberlain, was seen in the "Recent American Sculpture" show that preceded the Israeli show at the Jewish Museum); partly, one would think, because little Israel is not yet rich enough to scrap cars after a few years' use, as we do, and partly, perhaps, because they would be grim reminders of the 1948 War of Liberation whose wreckage can still be seen lying around on the back roads. But they do have the beginnings of Pop Art and Op Art (Optical Art), and since a copy of *Art International* mailed from Zurich will reach Tel Aviv in ten or twelve days, there is now no reason for any lag.

Yet Israel needs no copyists. It has real artists, and may feel the need for more and more of them as the country becomes a heavily industrialized power, armed with jet fighters and even with nuclear weapons. It is to the credit of Dr. Seitz that at the exhibition one sensed how the Israelis are endeavoring to fight back against what one of the twenty-six called "threatening destruction and bareness" by means of virile construction and sumptuous color, with works that are trying, as another expressed it, to "say something about man."

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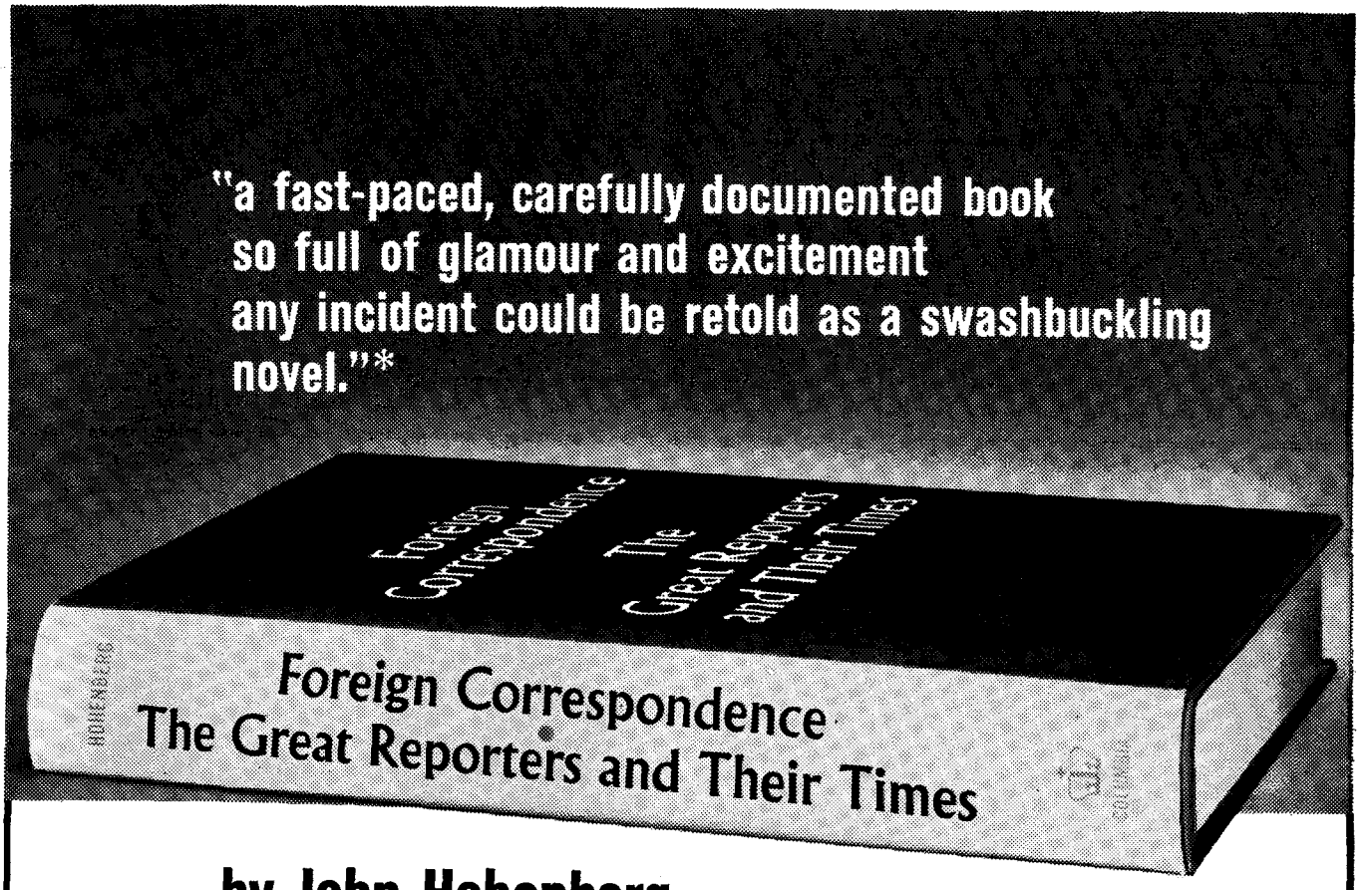
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It's Been Good to Know Him

NAT HENTOFF

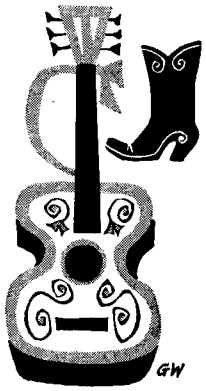
No other major figure in American folk music was as zealously committed to wandering as the singer-composer Woody Guthrie. Broke most of the time, he shied away from what few chances he had at comfort. When he became the star of a national radio show in the early 1940's, Guthrie bought a Chrysler from the proceeds of the first four programs and then left New York instantly. The Chrysler was quickly donated to an organizer for the Farmers Union in Oklahoma City, and Woody kept going on the road.

Guthrie wrote at least a thousand songs as he explored this country between 1932 and 1952—trying them out at bars, on picket lines, and in migrant camps. Many of the songs have disappeared, but many—"So Long, It's Been Good to Know You," "This Land Is Your Land," and "Hard Traveling" among them—are now in the basic repertory of most folk singers.

Since 1952 Guthrie has been hospitalized with Huntington's chorea, a progressive disease of the nervous system. Although he himself can no longer travel and sing, Guthrie disciples abound; Guthrie recordings are being reissued; his tumultuous 1941 autobiography, *Bound for Glory*, has been reprinted in Dolphin paperback; Macmillan is preparing a collection of his short stories, poems, letters, and articles; and other book-length selections from the voluminous Guthrie papers are due within the next few years.

So far, however, the most important product of the renewal of interest in Guthrie is a boxed three-LP set of records, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings* (Elektra EKL 271/272, $12, issued by arrangement with the Guthrie Children's Trust Fund). For three days in March, 1940, Guthrie, then twenty-eight, talked and sang for the Archive of Folk Song of the Library of Congress in a long interview conducted by Alan Lomax, who has accurately described Guthrie as "the best folk ballad composer whose identity has ever been known." Lomax remembers Guthrie as "slight of build, windburnt, Apache-eyed, thin-lipped, wiry and with a curly bush of dusty hair under his semi-Stetson."

Like the most powerful of Negro bluesmen and jazz players, Guthrie created his songs from the rhythms and textures of speech. And in this set, we continually hear the fusion of speech with music. Guthrie tells of his boyhood in Oklahoma and the blues he learned from Negroes in the area as his curiosity quickened. Childhood ended with the death of his sister in a fire, his mother's subsequent death in a state insane asylum, and the suicide of his father in bankruptcy. At seventeen, Guthrie



was on the road. The rest of the album consists of Guthrie's descriptions of dust storms, Okies, "jolly bankers," outlaws, and other signposts of his years in the Southwest and California.

Songs came out of experience. He recalls, for instance, how "So Long, It's Been Good to Know You" was born in the kind of Texas dust storm that appeared to signal the end of the world. And watching whole families, "living like coyotes," take to the highway after mortgages had been foreclosed, Guthrie wrote songs that have outlasted the Okies—"Talkin' Dust Bowl Blues," "I Ain't Got No Home in This World," and "Dust Bowl Refugee."

One particularly beguiling section of the set is Guthrie's tribute to the outlaws of his region, especially

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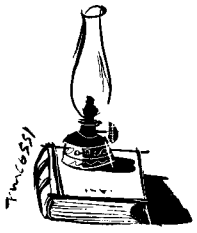
Pretty Boy Floyd. In Guthrie's highly romanticized hagiology, Floyd becomes the Robin Hood of the Southwest. Guthrie's song "Pretty Boy Floyd" points out that the outlaw was popular primarily because he was an enemy of the law and order that had done nothing to prevent or remedy the chaos in the lives of the poor in the area. ("As through your life you ramble/Yes, as through your life you roam/You won't never see an outlaw drive a family from their home.") There are also tales of how Okies were silkily recruited for the California fields and then treated like a pestilence when they arrived.

But despite the pervasive anger in Guthrie's stories and songs, there is a persistently leavening wit and a pride in America's capacities. The always outraged but always optimistic revolutionary had no patience with songs of despair. "I am out," he once wrote, "to sing songs that will prove to you that this is your world and that if it has hit you pretty hard and knocked you for a dozen loops . . . no matter what color, what size you are, how you are built, I am out to sing the songs that make you take pride in yourself and in your work." And when there was no work, Guthrie sang sardonically of the politicians and of how transient they too could be made. Always there was the thrust of possibility in his music.

Woody's friends used to try to persuade him to settle down long enough to write novels. But Woody would have none of it. "There is something too slow and too plowy," he insisted, "for me to spend my time at fooling around with long novels when I'd rather hear a room full of my comrades and friends sing out real loud on one of my songs."

Concert halls, night clubs, and kindergartens are full of the sound of Guthrie's songs these days even though Guthrie himself is silent. He can no longer talk, let alone sing, as he could on these excellent records.



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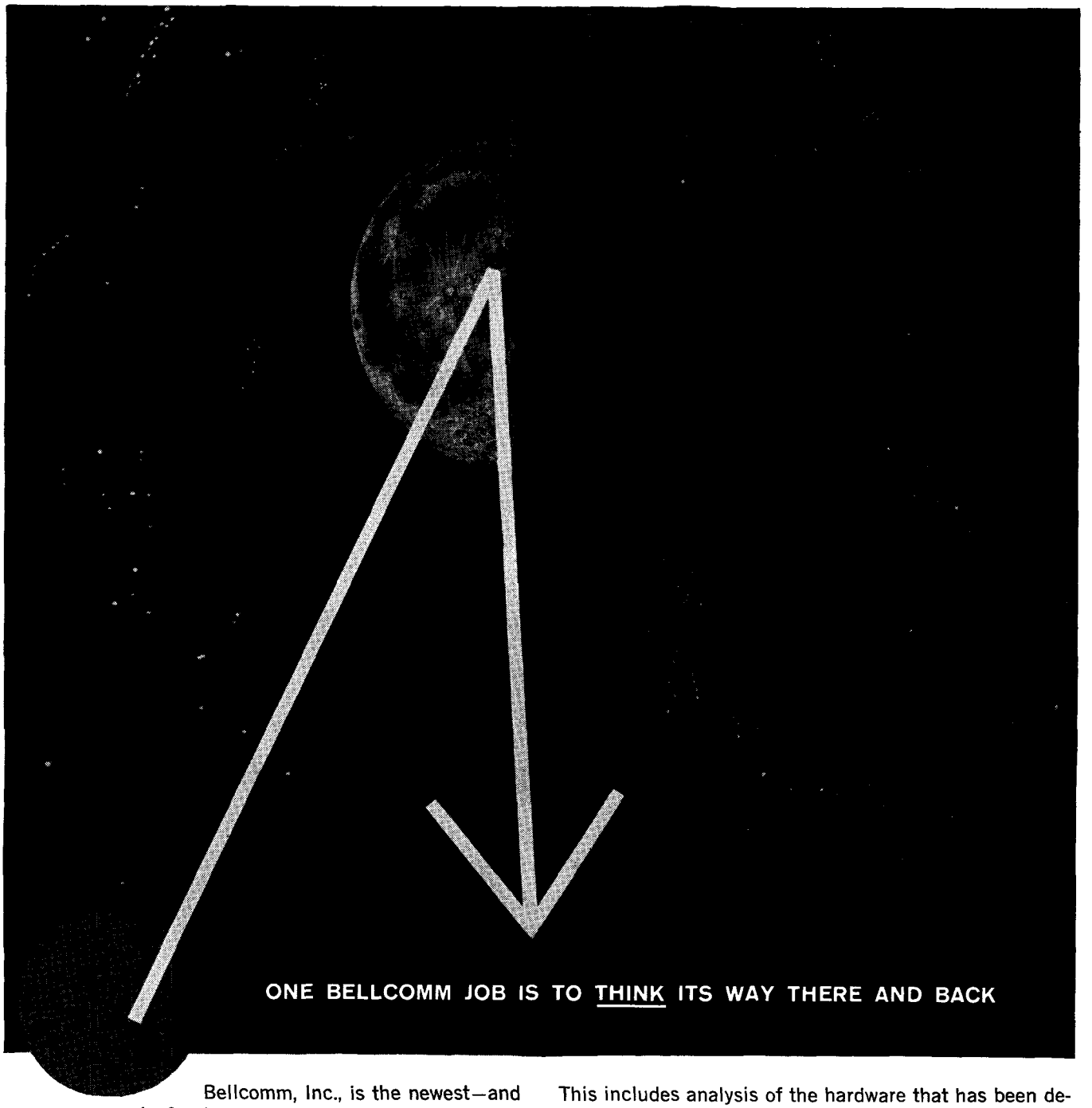

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